THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

—

THE TOMB OF TWO SCULPTORS AT THEBES

ROBB DE PEYSTER TYTUS
MEMORIAL SERIES
VOLUME IV


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THE TOMB OF TWO SCULPTORS AT THEBES



Made in England by Emery Walker, Limited

PLATE I

HENETNOFRET PRESENTS THE CUP TO NEBAMUN. DETAIL FROM PLATE V

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

(See pages 53, 54)

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE TOMB OF TWO SCULPTORS AT THEBES

BY

NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES

WITH PLATES IN COLOR
BY NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES
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AND CHARLES K. WILKINSON
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THE TOMB AND ITS OWNERS

CHAPTER I

THE TOMB AND ITS OWNERS

The Egyptian tomb a private, not a common grave

TOMB 181[1] at Thebes, the subject of the present memoir, received from Père Scheil, its first editor, a designation,[2] "Tombeau des Graveurs," which is misleading in so far as it suggests that this was a sepulchre common to a professional guild rather than one of persons connected as usual by family ties. The name offered a convenient evasion of the problem set by the incomplete and unprecise records of the tomb as to the real owner and his relation to another person equally, or almost equally, prominent on its walls. But it lightly leapt over the obstacle that, with few exceptions, the Theban tomb is the personal possession of a single householder who, though he may often have offered its hospitality to many members of the family besides his own descendants and possibly even to humbler members of his household, so jealously guarded his proprietary rights and exclusive enjoyment of the burial privileges which the pictures and prayers in the tomb ensured him, that he allowed no other name to be linked with his, nor any visible record of subordinate burials to appear upon the walls. Such persons being interred without further record than the prayers that might be placed on coffins, jars of viscera, *shawabtis*, cones, and other burial furniture, we cannot, in the case of a plundered tomb, know who, or how many, had found shelter there. Though these relatives and servants appear in the scenes, they

[1] For names, etc., of numbered tombs see Gardiner & Weigall, *Topograph. Cat.*; also my *Puyemrê*, I, p. 107.
[2] *Mém. Miss. Franç.*, V, p. 189.

The Egyptian tomb a private, not a common grave

have no claim on the burial benefits which an inscribed tomb helped to confirm to its owner, except in so far as their close association with the clearly and repeatedly designated proprietor might involve them in the salvation which he had achieved. This was natural. The inscriptions constituted a legal deed assuring enumerated benefits, no less real because without any stipulated limits, to So and So, by the grace of the king and the gods, in return for services rendered to them. And, as the Theban tomb (apart from its burial places, which often admit of indefinite supplement) is generally confined at most to an inner and an outer room and a connecting passage, these constituted the private suite of a single person, which he naturally reserved for himself and his wife.

Even wives and relatives have no rights in it

Even the most loved wife takes a quite secondary place in the tomb and has no prescribed rights there, but only an indirect participation in the blessings on which her husband has, or thinks he has, a lien. The Miltonic ideal "she for God in him" seems fully to prevail at this time. Though she is generally shown by his side when a rite is being performed for his benefit, the boon is assured to him personally, and it is only through her relation to him that she enjoys it. Only in rare cases is her personal right recognized by the mention of her *ka* also.[1] Indeed the parents of the owner seem to be given a stronger claim; for a *ḥotpedens* prayer for offerings on their behalf specially is more than once recorded on the tomb walls, and the blessings expressly devoted to both.[2] Occasionally a son, desiring to acknowledge, and to carry forward with him into the unknown, the womanly devotion which he had the most reason to appreciate, associated his mother with him in place of a wife. The statues of the parents, or it may be of a brother, as well as of the wife, may sometimes be seen side by side with the owner's in the recesses of the tomb, and there, through the formula inscribed on their skirts, receive offerings from the altar of the gods. Whether this, the nearest approach

[1] E.g., in Tomb 161. Less solemn presentations of the cup, bouquets, or sistrums by children are, however, addressed to both parents with the words "for your *ka*," and to dead parents of the owner even in the case of a ritual offering. Whether the use of the singular term "*ka*" in such cases points to the married pair being regarded as a single personality is not clear.

[2] E.g., in Tomb 276 and on Pl. XVII.

to participation in the burial privilege of the tomb, implied a proposed interment there, remains unproved. But even this is far from ownership, or rights independent of the owner's generosity. Thus, the common profession of the two men whose names appear as apparent owners on the walls of the tomb, and whose lack of close blood relation is made indubitable by the record of their different parentage on both sides (Plate XVII), cannot be taken without more ado as a sufficient ground for their sharing a common tomb, since even the closest family tie would not justify it in ordinary practice.

Even wives and relatives have no rights in it

Let us turn to the situation revealed in the records of this tomb. They are unfortunately not complete, and the difficulty is aggravated by the deficiency of the Egyptian language in terms for family and social ties, no single words being available to express those that extend beyond the closest relationships (of parents to children and of children to one another), and still less any which refer to connection by marriage. This default even includes the tie of marriage itself; for, by a curious misuse of speech, the usual word for wife (*ḥemet*) was more or less abandoned during the Eighteenth Dynasty in favor of the equivocal term *senet*, "sister."[1]

Egyptian terms for relations by blood and marriage

The two men named in the tomb are called Apuki and Nebamun. The father of the former was one Senennuter, "superintendent of artisans in Ḥeriḥirmeru,"[2] and with the rank of "controller"[3] in some department, no doubt that afterwards administered by his son, "controller of the bal-

The two men buried in the tomb

[1] Whether this occurs because in a time of conquest concubinage became more prevalent with the acquisition of female prisoners; because, by imitation of royal precedent, marriage with full or half sisters was increasingly practised throughout society; or owing to a disinclination to give the wife the legal prerogatives or prestige associated with the status of a *ḥemet*, is not yet clear. Nor is any rule apparent by which the use of the two terms was differentiated. In Tomb 80 there seems to be an instructive episode. Thotnufer there sits with his wife Takhat (*senet* having been later changed to *ḥemet*). Behind them stands a second female figure, "his *senet*, Meryt," apparently a later introduction. Before this trio a second *senet* sits, or offers a sistrum, and this, I presume, is a true sister. Her name, however, may also be Meryt, though differently written; so that it is just possible that Thotnufer afterwards married this sister, and placed her behind his chair.

[2] This is not a known temple or building. But it may be an alias for Ḥeriḥiramun, the variant possibly showing the first symptom of that hostility to Amon which a little later disrupted the kingdom. The latter was one of the temples of Amon at Thebes, perhaps a part, or even the whole, of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Baḥri (Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, I, p. 95; II, pp. 79–81).

[3] *Sꜣwti* seems here used vaguely to indicate a small official, as *sꜣb* is applied to a greater one, and *rpꜥti* to one of still higher rank, flattery being of course used in each case.

The two men buried in the tomb

ances of the king in Ast-josret."[1] Apuki, however, adds to the recorded titles, though not perhaps to the accomplishments, of his father, that of "sculptor of the king," or even "superintendent of sculptors in Ast-josret" (Plate XIX). Nebamun also held the positions of superintendent of sculptors and administrator of workshops, but (apparently in the latter respect) he is once styled "controller of the secret (expert) department in Ḥeriḥirmeru." This establishment seems, then, to have housed the skilled craftsmen of Ast-josret. The only title of his which has no echo in those of Apuki is that of "child of the (royal) nursery," an honorary designation which is frequently given to men of standing or even of high rank, and so marks out Nebamun as a man of better family or greater success than the other. His rank of superintendent of sculptors, however, had come to him almost as a birthright; for his father had held it before him.[2]

The partition of the tomb between them

As to the partition of the tomb between them, so far as the mutilation it has received permits us to judge, it was highly irregular, and shows, instead of a division of the mural space into two halves, a participation by both men in the social meal, the adoration of the gods, the homage to their parents, and the burial rites; sometimes by separate scenes, sometimes by the appearance of both men in the same act or in a composite picture. The problem of recording the life and burial of two men is solved cleverly enough. No scenes can be said to be duplicated, and yet neither man has failed to receive proper burial or the benefit of prescribed formulas. One of them is credited with one part of

[1] Actually "controller of the balances of the king," "controller of Ast-josret," and "controller" simply. The first title meant that he was responsible for the precious metals and stones weighed out to the craftsmen for manufacture. It may thus be the same office as that of Senennuter; for such designations are not precisely fixed but admit curtailment or variation. For a similar official see Daressy, *Cônes Funéraires*, No. 236. Ast-josret is a term that is known to me only from Mace, *El Amrah*, Pl. XXIX, as a name for the necropolis of Abydos. Is it here an equivalent of To-joser, the Theban cemetery; of Josret, the vicinity of Deir el Baḥri (cf. p. 54); or is it a definite temple? If great temples had workshops attached to them, Deir el Baḥri had the best right on the west of Thebes, unless the temple of Amenhotep III had supplanted it in this respect. The additions "of the king" and "in Ast-josret" seem to be mere variants. The name of Amon is nowhere used; so there may have been a State *atelier* apart from those of the temples, or Ast-josret may be a name for the temple of Amenhotep or its adjuncts.

[2] The reader will be better able to control what is said of the relationship of the various persons in the tomb if he consults the genealogical table on p. 16 whenever such questions recur.

the ritual, the other with its complementary acts; or, no name being cited, it is left to the friends of either man to appropriate the blessing or reminiscence for their favorite. Thus, the figure of the official watching the balances (Plate XI) may be that of either of the two controllers. The pictured tomb is "his western home, his eternal resting place" simply, without further definition. At the door of the tomb Henetnofret bewails the coffined mummy of Nebamun; but she has previously followed the bier of Apuki to the grave. Whether choice or mere haste be responsible for the uncertain personality of the pair who occupy the final seat of the dead in the inner room, it is impossible to say or guess. The silence in any case is in harmony with the unwonted circumstances.

The partition of the tomb between them

There being no stela, the test of ownership might be looked for in the entrance, in the ceiling-texts, in the burial scenes, or in the shrine. In the entrance Apuki is certainly shown as the person entering, and it is to be presumed therefore that he is also the person leaving, the tomb; the more so as the lady Henetnofret accompanies him in that case, whereas Nebamun is generally, if not always, associated with his mother, Thepu. The fragments of texts from the ceiling show preponderant occurrences of the name of Nebamun, despite its erasure; those of Apuki, if indeed there are any such, may come from the inner chamber exclusively. Funeral rites are paid to both men and it would be hard to detect any real inequality in the honors paid to them. In the shrine the one unfinished picture shows two pairs seated and receiving a somewhat unequal homage; as no names are appended, we may interpret it as we will. Of nine cases in which the owner and his female companion appear together in this tomb, two show Nebamun and Thepu, two Apuki and Henetnofret, two have no names, and three have lost them. Honors, therefore, may so far be declared easy between the two men.

The claim of each to ownership

The close similarity of the offices held by the two makes it likely that one succeeded the other in them.[1] Apuki may well have taken over

The priority of Nebamun

[1] These are not so high that they might not be held by more than one man simultaneously at Thebes. But each workshop would probably have only one controller, hence if Ḥeriḥirmeru and Ast-josret are the same locality, the two men would be successive holders of the post. The same holds good for the superintendency also.

The priority of Nebamun

from his father the post of controller, and that of sculptor to the king (with the superintendency in prospect) from Neferhêt, whose son, Nebamun, was presumably too young yet to take up the succession. The supposition that Apuki was the older man and the husband of Henetnofret's youth is supported by Plate V. While Nebamun sits at the banquet and drinks of an earthly cup, Apuki is seated with Henetnofret at the meal of the dead. A certain Amenhotpĕ, who appears both there and at the funeral of Apuki as if alive, is apparently honored by Nebamun as one who had passed away. In many scenes Nebamun has a distinct prominence, such as might be expected in the survivor and actual constructor of the tomb. He takes precedence of Apuki where the two act together (Plate XIX), and the scenes in which he is sole actor are on a larger scale and more brilliantly executed than any in which Apuki is the chief figure. But, as if to compensate for this, Apuki alone appears as the unchallenged consort of the lady Henetnofret who, as we shall see, seems to have shared the affections of both men.

Henetnofret the connecting link

How, then, are we to reconcile these equal pretensions to ownership with the strictly individual possession by a single head of a household which is almost universal at Thebes? In the first place, the rule is not devoid of exceptions at a somewhat later date. Tomb 291, a tiny pyramid chapel, is divided between two men of quite different parentage and no apparent intimacy, each of whom occupies one half of it, while one of them appropriates the single ceiling-text in addition. This very clear example strengthens the evidence for a few other less uncompromising instances and, as Tomb 291 appears to belong to much the same period as ours, we may suspect a slackening of the rule from this time onward and feel ourselves at liberty to admit a breach of it in the case we are considering.[1] In the second place, if the intimate mingling of the two names in our tomb points to some stronger motive for participation than economy, ordinary friendship, or professional association, such an incen-

[1] This tomb was only discovered last year in the course of excavations at Deir el Medineh for the *Institut Français* by Mons. Kuentz, who has kindly permitted me to quote this interesting detail. It shows how incomplete our knowledge of burial customs still is, notwithstanding the three hundred inscribed tombs that stand open at Thebes.

tive seems to be found in their mutual relations to Henetnofret. Her connection with them is expressed in both cases by the same term, *senet*, which, as we have seen, connotes the two widely different relationships of sisterhood and marriage. As Henetnofret regularly accompanies Apuki in the rôle of a wife, her relation to him is beyond question. Nebamun, on the other hand, has his mother as his companion in the only scenes where both names are preserved; so that the only absolutely certain instance of Henetnofret's connection with him is her appearance before him with the cup (Plate V), a service generally rendered by a daughter to her parents, but occasionally by a wife to her husband when she is not sitting with him.[1] Had Henetnofret not already been shown as the wife of Apuki, we should unhesitatingly have recognized her from this picture as the wife of Nebamun. Proof but little less cogent of the relation between the two is afforded by the burial scene (Plate XIX), where the foremost of the two mummies is bewailed by "his *sene* Henetnofret." Were there no interest in supposing it otherwise, no one would doubt but that this is Nebamun's corpse and this his mourning widow. At need, however, it is no doubt arguable that it is Apuki's mummy and wife, or Nebamun bewailed by a sister.

Henetnofret the connecting link

Unless, therefore, further evidence arises to justify us in ignoring the great scarcity of precedents, we must take it that the exceptional division of a tomb between two men (unique perhaps in the degree of fusion of the two records) was due to an exceptional situation of which there are few recognizable instances; that, namely, of a woman who married twice and commemorated, or persuaded her husband to commemorate, both unions in one monument. If Nebamun, as appears to have been the case, was the survivor, he succeeded not only to the emoluments of Apuki, but also to the hand of his wife, so that the offices which had been hereditary in the two families were again concentrated

She appears to have married both men in turn

[1] The wife in Tomb 78 offers the cup, where her husband's mother is seated with him; though elsewhere she makes offering to the gods at his side, and sits with him at the meal of the dead. Cf. Davies, *El Amarna*, II, Pl. XXXII. I cannot quote an instance of a sister acting as cup-bearer, still less a married sister. If Henetnofret had been Nebamun's sister merely, it would have been easy to add "daughter of Thepu" to obviate misconstruction of the word *senet*, as is done once in Tomb 31.

She appears to have married both men in turn

in one person. Henetnofret's two husbands were fellow-craftsmen, and the causes which in Europe have always developed among such men a specially close *camaraderie* and more untrammeled views on social relations seem not to have been altogether inoperative under the very different conditions, the more so that in ancient Egypt such men often, or generally, inherited their profession from their fathers and transmitted it to their sons and near relations. In such a close brotherhood of artists, Henetnofret had an excellent opportunity of a second marriage so harmonious as to permit the delicate undertaking of a single tomb, where she, her two husbands, their relations, and her children by each might immortalize their natural good sense and amiability.

Objections to this hypothesis

One could have wished that the acceptance of this relation between the three chief personages were beyond cavil, instead of being the preferable solution of a dilemma, each horn of which involves us in difficulties. The appearance of Thepu, Nebamun's mother, as his companion in scenes where a wife would ordinarily be seen, gives a sufficient explanation for Henetnofret's absence from his side, and is paralleled several times in the necropolis, though the substitution is infrequent and as yet unexplained.[1] Many will, no doubt, find it hard to believe that Nebamun, under the peculiar conditions, chose to depict Henetnofret seated at the funeral meal with his dead rival, passing out of the tomb in his company, etc., while he himself is content with the society of his mother, thus consenting to the reunion of his wife to her first husband on the threshold of the life to come. It will seem especially repugnant when it is considered that, for the ancients, these vivid records had power to create the

[1] We find it, e.g., in Tombs 20, 31, 36, 45, 78, 95, 106, 112, 258, 276. In Nos. 20 and 276 the mother is shown in the inner chamber at the solemn meal of the dead. In No. 36 a son is mentioned, implying marriage. In No. 78 (see p. 9) the man must have been of such an age that the mother could not have survived him; she could not, therefore, have originated the pictures and there shown indifference or hostility to her daughter-in-law. Since we are in the East, we can scarcely admit the theory of real bachelordom, except in the case of some natural bar to marriage. If it was merely that the mother was specially loved or for some reason had not been provided with a resting place at her husband's side, why is the wife generally excluded from mention? Are these, then, cases of divorce or of unhappy union? If the second marriage of Henetnofret were better established, one would ask, in face of this lack of apparent motive for the substitution of the mother, whether all these cases are not those of marriage with a widow, who perhaps, by custom or law, still belonged to her first husband, and must find her place for eternity at his side.

Objections to this hypothesis

situation they depict. For the pictures in the outer hall here are not confined to memories; the dead are actually entering the presence of the lords of eternity. Even if the injured scenes did represent Nebamun taking his place at Henetnofret's side equally with Apuki, with what hope or intention was this done? The Egyptian habit of pictorially illustrating their faith would make such problems far more insistent for them than for the Jew, with whom it was probably rather a question of casuistry than of intense personal feeling when he asked, "Whose wife, then, shall she be in the resurrection?" But it is dangerous to apply modern sentiment to an age so remote and so different, and we have the good sense ourselves not to allow a foolish curiosity regarding the modes of preternatural existence, where all that we know of happiness may conceivably be surpassed without marriage, to interfere with that which feeling and reason prescribe as very desirable for this world. If acknowledged custom in Egypt assigned the wife in such cases to her first husband in that world beyond, which then seemed so proximate to present existence, the admission of these scenes by Nebamun may have been both natural and commendable.

The decoration of the tomb possibly her act

For those who find Nebamun's complacence incompatible with general human nature, and would regard such magnanimity or acceptance of social dogma as contemptible poverty of spirit, there is still a way of escape. The tomb, though excavated by Apuki and shared at his own death by Nebamun, might have been decorated under the supervision of Henetnofret after the decease of her second husband. The situation would leave her free to decide herself which of the two intimate ties which had divided her life here should dominate her existence hereafter, and it would not surprise us to find that she chose the husband of her youth and the father of most, if not all, of her children, and hence placed herself by his side in all those pictures which might exercise a compulsion on destiny and determine her lot in the long vista of years yet to be. On that supposition, she seems to have tried in every way to mitigate the unavoidable invidiousness of her choice. She gave Nebamun that prominence in the scenes which was due to him by his rank and

The decoration of the tomb possibly her act

by his more recent death, feeling, too, perhaps that Apuki was well compensated for his secondary place by the priority which she had given him in her affection. The thrice-repeated good wishes for Nebamun's welfare in the banquet scene would then be an expression of her esteem for him with whom, after all, if her faith had any vividness, she was to be so closely associated, whether as wife, or, by this choice, as comrade and sister, within his eternal mansion.

But more likely to be Nebamun's

It is pleasanter, however, to leave Nebamun with the congenial task of adorning his own sepulchre and settling his own endless future, and to suppose that he and his wife, being faced, when the decoration of the tomb was taken in hand, by the problem afforded by the previous marriage, wisely decided to exhibit simply the facts of their histories and the good feeling which had directed them, and to leave the future to the gods who ruled it. In any case, knowing nothing to the contrary, and having the suggestive pictures as our justification, we may contemplate Apuki, Nebamun, and Henetnofret entering paradise together unashamed, having been lovely and pleasant in their lives and in their deaths not divided. Henetnofret seems to have been the link which bound these three lives together. Hence a more appropriate by-name for this doubly-owned place of burial would be "The tomb of the two husbands," or even "The tomb of Henetnofret"; for women had personal histories even in those days, though for us they generally lie below the surface.

The second marriage to be provisionally assumed

Other objections and considerations that crop up in our survey of the scenes will be best dealt with as they arise. Though the hypothesis preferred by me may be rejected by others in favor of the interpretation which makes Apuki the brother-in-law of Nebamun, and so welcome to him for his own sake or his sister's as to be admitted to partnership in a common tomb, and though, as evidence for burial and social custom grows more definite and complete, this latter choice might conceivably have to be finally adopted, it will add very much to the pleasure to be found in the scenes, and detract very little from the instruction they impart, if the hypothesis of the second marriage, which seems best

borne out by the data at our disposal, be admitted as the basis of interpretation henceforth.[1]

Career and rank of the Egyptian artist

These two men were both engravers in stone (literally "bearers of the *mḏ3.t* graving-chisel"),[2] as their fathers had been before them, and had reached the head of their profession, or something like it, in becoming directors of the local school of craftsmen. This does not mean that they were specialists in their art; for they had no doubt practised all its branches in turn. Their attainments probably won them a very respectable rank in society, without the prideful place and lucrative opportunities which a post in the administration would have given them, though as directors they perhaps touched this ambition also. Artists ranked above mere artisans, as their family connections and the designation of one of them as "esquire" (*rpᶜti*) show.[3] But neither were they lionized or over-rewarded, though the stela of Irtisen proves that they were not unmindful of the spiritual dignity of their profession.[4] Probably, there-

[1] It may be said generally, however, that the objections to admitting that Henetnofret was no more than sister to Nebamun, apart from the violence done to the term *senet* in this connection, are that the succession of the two men to their office would not be easily accounted for, that the appearance of Amenhotpĕ and his wife is left without justification, that Henetnofret's relation to Thepu would have been indicated at the banquet, and that any explanation of the burial scene must, then, be very strained.

[2] For this term, ignorantly misconstrued by me in *Bulletin of M. M. A.*, Dec. 1920, Part II, see Griffith, *P. S. B. A.*, 1899, p. 270. It comes in just at this time, and I can prove no earlier instance than this of Neferhêt. The similar title, "bearer of the fan (military standard, weapons, etc.)," does not indicate one of a class, but a special functionary of the king. But, apart from this attractive exclusiveness of the title, the ambition of the courtiers of Amenhotep III to secure sculptured tombs, and the consequent demand for skilled hands, would tend to call it into being. Up to this time the *sš ḳd*, who appears to have been specially trained to design in line, and was thus differentiated from the *sš*, who might be a mere colorist, seems to have done such work both with the brush and the graver. A *mśnti* (?) was a mason and stone-carver who might also be a *śᶜnḫ*, a worker in the round, whether in wood, stone, or metal. These distinctions, besides marking the special provinces of the artist's craft, seem also to a certain extent to have indicated rank within the profession, according to the technical skill demanded. The colorist (*sš*) might rise to be a draughtsman (*sš ḳd*), and he to be an engraver (*ṯ3y mḏ3.t*), a statuary (*śᶜnḫ*), or even a chief of sculptors like Apuki or Nebamun, and, finally, as the goal of ambition, a superintendent of craftsmen in an *atelier* (*imi r ḥmw.t*). Thus the draughtsmen Huy and Parennufer might well have eventually risen to be sculptors (see pp. 44, 61). Among the Ramesside workers in the necropolis recorded in Spiegelberg's *Graffiti*, there are about twenty-eight draughtsmen to seven sculptors, and only two superintendents in each branch. The work of the *ṯ3y mḏ3.t* would, I take it, mainly be the execution of tomb reliefs and texts.

[3] Schaefer, *Aeg. Zeichnungen auf Scherben*, p. 25. Cf. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 416; *Ä. Z.*, 42, p. 128.

[4] Maspero, *P. S. B. A.*, 1877, p. 555. Tombs of artists are rare at Thebes, despite the ability and impulse to adorn them, and those few not large or richly decorated. On over five hundred funeral cones known to me, only two chief stone-masons, and perhaps one chief engraver, are commemorated. Artists are not often seen even as members of a great man's retinue.

Career and rank of the Egyptian artist

fore, only exceptional men could afford to show much independence of spirit, and the many unfinished or scamped pictures seem to reflect this measure of servitude, though precisely the opposite deduction may sometimes be made.[1] This comparative poverty may have been a contributory motive for the double burial in our tomb, the owners preferring one finely decorated chamber to two inferior sepulchres.

Families as schools of art

Since his occupation does not seem to have been lucrative, we must in part attribute to professional pride the exceptional frequency with which the artist handed his craft down to his descendants, a habit which is exemplified once more in the case of the owners of Tomb 181.[2] An important consequence of this custom is that the maintenance of efficiency and the transmission of tradition in art were provided for less by schools or guilds of draughtsmen than by families, within whose circle professional knowledge was tenaciously guarded, along with the moderate emoluments of professional posts. If, then, we have to qualify the idea that artists are born, not made, since Egyptians of high attainments adopted the career, less owing to a spirit that bloweth where it listeth, or inherited genius, than to their position in a family line which inclined to this calling from material motives and early familiarity with it; yet, on the other hand, these humble nurseries of the arts were open to individual talent and initiative, and sensitive to the national mood, as well as freed to some extent from the iron bonds of priestly tradition or the inane regulations of a state bureaucracy. A happy mingling of freedom and conservatism seems to be exhibited by the family to which we have here gained an introduction. Essentially unmoved by the surface current of the day, though it touched art more powerfully than any other department of life, the style of this tomb is its own, and yet in the end proved to be in harmony with the most sustained chords of national life. This domestic school of Neferhêt and Senennuter may well have provided an excellent training ground, alike in the art of life itself and that of the representation of life, an atmosphere in which good work was

[1] See my *Tomb of Nakht*, pp. 7, 54.

[2] Erman, *loc. cit.* In one third of the cases which Spiegelberg includes in his *Graffiti* the profession has been confessedly inherited or bequeathed. Tomb 323 shows four generations of draughtsmen.

fostered and good-natured men and women grew up and lived together in harmony.

Families as schools of art

Executants of the tomb and their training

A feature with which we shall have still more sympathy as conforming to high ideals of art is the combination in one career of the painter's, the sculptor's, and the craftsman's pursuits; for, as has been seen, the Egyptian artist probably learnt and practised them in turn. If these two men had been only sculptors, they would probably have endeavored, in spite of paucity of means, to secure a site on which their powers might have been exhibited. Their painted tomb is some proof that they had been painters also; and the devices used disclose at times the sculptor's instincts (pp. 30, 53). Whether they had practised as craftsmen or not, they were at least intimately connected with the workshops, and the precision and detailed drawing, particularly of jewelry, may be partially due to this experience. The department of architecture seems, unfortunately, to have been kept apart from the influences of the artist's training; hence we can not lay on the owners the full blame for the usual asymmetry and slovenly form of the tomb itself. As to the actual execution of the work we are, as usual, left without any information. Its exceptional excellence, however, would lead us to suspect that it was kept within the family circle, and hence was largely a labor of love. Nebamun himself will probably have been responsible for much of the design and general control, and perhaps for some of the actual work. Huy, his brother (or brother-in-law), may also have been a participant. But it is likely that most of the labor was done by younger men, Amenemhêt, son of Apuki, Nebnufer, and Parennufer. The latter two, though not closely related to the family, are twice mentioned; and this tacit permission to immortalize themselves was probably a surplus reward of their labors.

Henetnofret's parentage

If the person whom, from his prominence in both families, I assume to be Henetnofret's father, really was so, she came of fairly humble parentage, quite outside the circle of artists; for Amenhotpĕ was only a janitor of Pharaoh in Thebes itself and a temple servitor (two posts which, one would think, were held in succession), while her paternal

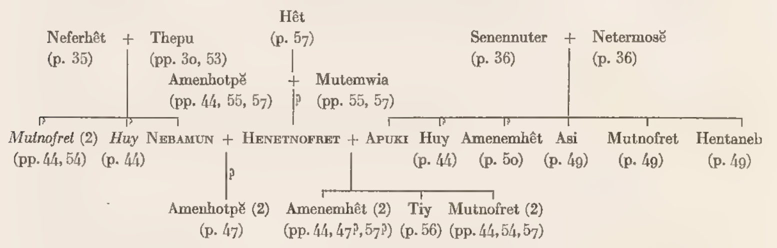
Henetnofret's parentage

grandfather was only a small official; so that it would appear as if she herself were her fortune. But her father's charge in the palace may have been one of greater importance than the title suggests.[1]

The site of the tomb

Tomb No. 181 is cut in the southern slope of the Khokhah hill, which divides the Assasîf from a smaller valley running up towards the foot of Elwet Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh and ending abruptly in the sunk courtyard of the vizier Paser.[2] It is thus directly behind the house of the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum, which occupies the corresponding position on the northern side of the ridge. The tomb lies some way

[1] As a help to the reader, the proposed genealogy of the family is here set out in diagram, together with the titles of the persons concerned. The pages quoted signalize the appearance of the personages on the walls. The index should be referred to for doubtful identifications and discussions.



Amenhotpĕ, as well as Apuki or Nebamun, might conceivably be the undetermined brother of Huy to whom reference is made on p. 44.

Private names are often derived from those in use in the reigning family. Mutemwia was the mother of Amenhotep III, Aset and Hentaneb daughters of his, and Mutnofret a near relation (Petrie, History, II, p. 198). All this hangs well together, and Apuki on this evidence would belong to the generation of Amenhotep's older children.

The titles of the above persons are:—

Hêt . . . .

Amenhotpĕ .

Neferhêt . .

Senennuter .

Huy . . .

Amenemhêt .

Apuki . . .

Nebamun . .

(or) (or)

[2] See Pls. II and IV; also Pl. VIII of Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*.

The site of the tomb

up the slope, and is excavated just below a bed of crumbling shale in rock which is only a little more consolidated than the stratum forming its roof. The little area, some five meters square, which forms a courtyard in front of it, is sunk in the hillside and reached by a short descent cut in the rock. Its splayed walls are coated with *hîb* plaster. On the west a low slab of rock, a few inches high, has been left, as if to provide a bench for offerings. On the opposite side is the entrance to a roughly hewn and undecorated tomb with two chambers. Of these the outer one has a roof supported by a central pillar of rock. The inner one contains a burial shaft, which, fearing the ramifications it might possess, I did not excavate, and at a higher level a loculus into which a coffin could be pushed. Tomb 181 itself is of very small dimensions and makes no pretensions within or without to any accuracy of plan or neatness of finish. Its doorway is now a mere entrance. It had probably once been provided with a shoddy framing of thin sandstone slabs laid against the rock, and we may possess a relic of this in half a lintel of the sort, having no other ornament than a cavetto cornice. The carelessness which marks the exterior is no less evident within. No pains have been taken to lay out the rooms correctly; the downward slope of the courtyard is continued; and the walls are neither straight, upright, nor uniformly crooked (Plate III). A tall man would have to stoop to enter, could just stand in the hall, but must remain bent in the inner room. The miserable character of the rock forbade any increase of size and did not invite precision of outline; but gross carelessness was exhibited in enshrining such meritorious work under a shelter so precarious and at the foot of an inward slope which every visitation of rain must turn into a gutter. It is almost by a miracle that anything has survived the threatened dangers, and that the fall of the ceiling and the irruption of rain-water have only resulted in the loss of the less valuable scenes. The danger, however, is not past, and any charge of indifference to values which we lay upon the original owners is one that may recoil upon ourselves before long.

Its form and features

The tomb consists of an outer painted chamber transverse to the axis and an inner one lying along it, which also contains a painting on

Its form and features

one wall. A small side-chamber leading out of this is occupied by the burial shaft, which, at a couple of meters down, gives access to a broad, but roughly cut and extremely low, burial chamber. Another shaft in the courtyard also gives entrance to underground rooms at the same level, perhaps originally separated from the former by narrow partitions of rock, but now in communication with them. It is possible that the two shafts provided for the double occupation of the tomb. From a breach in the floor of the outer shaft one can drop into meandering passages both to east and west, belonging to a still lower tier of tombs.

The rough walls of the upper chamber were coated thickly with mud plaster, and faced merely with a thin wash of lime instead of a layer of good stucco; a new practice which has been the ruin of numberless later pictures. In both rooms slots were cut in the walls at ceiling-height, and the mud was spread into them in the vain hope that it would there find a support which the friable shale did not afford. For the same reason, the walls of both rooms, but especially those of the inner chamber, were drawn in at the top, so as to lessen the span of ceiling. It must be confessed that those who quarried the tombs of Thebes showed no constructional ability, nor any solicitude for the stability of these monuments. The chambers being small, the pictures have been carried down to within a few inches of the floor, and it is astonishing what fine and detailed work was done by the decorators in the cramped attitude forced upon them, the drawing in these parts reaching at least as high a standard as elsewhere. Owing to the trend of the hillside, the tomb runs into it in a northerly direction. The end wall of the right-hand bay is therefore the east, and that of the left-hand bay the west, wall of the tomb.

Previous publications and the present enterprise

The scenes have been published by Père Scheil, with plates in color by Georges Legrain, whose recent death has been deplored by all.[1] The second room, however, was not penetrated by them. The beauty of the coloring disclosed in this publication made me eager to copy the scenes

[1] *Memoires de la Mission Française*, V, p. 189. M. Maspero takes pride in the merit of these plates, "mises sur pied d'après des croquis très sommaires du Père Scheil" (*ibid*, Vol. XVIII, p. 1). I scarcely think that the procedure can have been quite so irresponsible as that; but the engaging frankness of the admission is very characteristic.

Previous publications and the present enterprise

for the records of our Museum; so, having made inquiry of the villagers as to the exact site of the tomb, I re-excavated it in the season of 1910-1911, together with Tombs 179 and 182 in the vicinity. Unpublished fragments, large and small, which had fallen from the walls, had evidently been flung back into the tomb with the rubbish. These were, of course, carefully preserved by us, and, thanks to the pains taken by J. E. A. Mackay in replacing them, now give something like a clothed aspect to the upper part of the west side of the north wall (Plate XIX). The tomb, being fitted with an iron door by us, has since been accessible to visitors.[1] Silence has been preserved regarding the circumstances under which it was first discovered, excavated, copied, and reburied. The date must have been about the year 1891.

The date of the tomb

Convincing evidence that the tomb dates to a period anterior to the great heresy is afforded by the erasures of the name of Amon; of the word *nṯr.w*, "gods"; sometimes, as it seems, of the *mwt* hieroglyph; and invariably of the figure of the *sem*-priest. On the other hand, the occurrence of the cartouche of Amenhotep III shows the period beyond which the tomb cannot recede, and this fixes it to the last years of that king, or the early days of his successor, Akhnaton, that is, to the years 1385-1370 B.C. Most of the known tombs in the immediate vicinity date several reigns earlier, but a ruined tomb (No. 47) in the valley bottom is of the same period.

Decorative features

The painted panels in the tomb are surrounded as usual by the block border[2] and outside this in the corners by the narrow "tail" edging and a band of blue. The elongated spots in the narrow strip, however, are colored red and black alternately instead of black only, and red and green when used once above the frieze (west reveal). Both in position and in color this latter use is a violation of its origin in a strip of skin and of its traditional employment.[3] Above the block border, all the walls

[1] I published a brief account of the tomb in *Bulletin of M. M. A.*, Dec. 1920, Part II.

[2] This designation of a border of colored rectangles is used by makers of stained glass windows.

[3] The tail pattern is used on or near the ceiling in Tomb 63 (time of Thothmes IV); 8, 161, 333, 334 (reign of Amenhotep III?); 40 (reign of Tutankhamen), where it is again polychrome; and in later tombs. See Mackay, *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, p. 39. The lotus frieze and the border of petals had come into use a reign or two earlier (*Theban Tombs Series*, Vol. III, Pl. XXI).

Decorative features

show a frieze formed by a chain of pendent lotus flowers with a bunch of blue grapes between them, the bunch having a meaningless red blob at the point. On the east reveal the bunch is replaced by a lotus bud. Above the picture in the inner room there is a frieze of white petals set against a ground which is green above and blue below, a reminiscence, perhaps, of alternating cornflowers. It is bordered above by three lines of red and black chequers on a white ground.

Ceiling texts

A large number of small fragments of the texts and patterns from the ceilings were found in the rubbish and much time was spent in the endeavor to extract from them their original arrangement and to discover on whose behalf the texts were inscribed. The results were unsatisfying, on the whole. The patterns were indeed secured, but their apparent distribution was too hypothetical to be worth recording. Seven or eight instances of the name of Nebamun were found; as half the name would be erased, its recognition would be more difficult than that of Apuki. Two or three occurrences of the latter name also survived, but two might possibly come from the jambs of the inner doorway. As the latter arrangement would ascribe the burial chamber to Apuki, it is clear, on this evidence alone, that the ownership was regarded as a double one. The lesser number of instances of the name of Apuki, so far from suggesting subordination, is in favor of the smaller chamber having been dedicated to him particularly. It was annoying to reflect once again that, had the tomb been conscientiously dealt with at its first discovery, the slight additional material which has certainly been destroyed by rough handling and lack of record might have turned the scale definitely in favor of one of the alternative hypotheses.

The bands of texts seem to have been arranged in the usual way,[1] and those round the sides seem to have been of the form "the honored liegeman (*im3ḫy*) of Duamutef, Osiris . . . Nebamun, the justified one, says . . .," ending again with the name and title. Two *ḥotpedens* formulas also occurred, one of which may have run, "A ritual offering to Amon-Rê, lord of Karnak, and Osiris Khentamentet, that they may grant importance

[1] See my *Tomb of Nakht*, fig. 10, p. 45.

Ceiling texts

on earth with Geb, and spiritual personality (*ꜣḫ*) in heaven with Rê, to the *ka* of the controller of the balances in Ast-josret, Nebamun, the justified one. He says, 'O ye gods and goddesses. . . .' " Apuki seems cited as "the controller" merely (cf. p. 57), but Nebamun is given his three titles. Several common phrases of blessing can be identified. A god [hieroglyph] seems to be twice acknowledged along with the genii of the dead. The ceiling of the inner room appears to have been provided also with colored patterns, but the bands were in plain yellow, without texts for the most part.

Ceiling patterns

As has been said, the painted mud plaster of the ceiling has everywhere fallen from the shale roof; of the fragments preserved only two or three are of any size, and few retain the color perfectly. Hence, the repeat of the design is not always assured. Eight patterns survive and this is what one would expect, two being needed for each of the two bays, and one for the axial division of the front room; two for the back chamber; and one for the soffit of the entrance (Plate XXX).[1]

A few notes on the separate designs may be of interest.

A. This complicated rosette is merely the strip design shown on Plate XXII bent round a center, being originally composed of four lotus flowers with green sepals and pink petals alternating with blue bunches of grapes round which tendrils cling. A black spot at the end of the bunch perhaps represents a berry, and serves to separate one bunch from the other. The four yellow calyxes unite to form a round center. This pattern is of frequent occurrence.[2]

B. This is partly guesswork, as the one fragment extant does not settle with certainty whether the concentric diamonds are exactly repeated or exchange colors in alternate rows, as in Jéquier, *Décoration Égyptienne*, No. 18 (from Tomb 67); still less whether the alternating squares are yellow and white in turn, and what color the crossed quatrefoils are in the second row, when on a white field. As the spot at the top is blue instead of black, I have assumed that the quatrefoil is black in place of blue.[3]

[1] The extant fragments on which the designs are based are marked by an outline in the Plate and by an asterisk at the edge when this does not suffice. The color-values rest on preserved samples.

[2] Cf. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pl. XXXII, F.

[3] Cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, II, Pl. VIII, No. 33.

Ceiling patterns

C. At once the most common and least attractive of the patterns employed in the tombs.

D. This combination of pattern C with the blue flower, in a very altered form and proportion, is rare. The repeat is not certain; perhaps the next zigzag would reverse the position of the blue and green, in correspondence with C.

E. The repetition is again not assured; alternate spirals, for instance, might be on a yellow ground. But the example in Jéquier (*ibid*, No. 32; from Tomb 16) is in favor of the repeat. The spiral is on a pinkish drab ground, in order to make a slight contrast with the adjacent white. In the example quoted the ground is yellow.

F. This is a somewhat degraded form of a very common pattern. Four, instead of two, lines should start from the central spot of the whorls, flying off at a tangent to form the outer line of the four adjoining spirals. The blue or green splotches in the corners seem here conceived as leaves or bunches of grapes; they should really be triangles of color with curved sides, following the shape of the field left by the rosette without quite filling it.[1]

G. This is merely a variant of C with the red zigzag expanded to the thickness of the blue and green bands, the white reduced to a mere edging, and slight divergencies in the quatrefoils.

H. This combination of whorls and rosettes is a less pleasing variant of E, or of Jéquier, *op. cit.*, No. 32. The simple repeat speaks for the similar arrangement assumed by me for E.[2]

Results of our excavations

As the tomb had been cleared previously, nothing of value was likely to be found by us; nor, if found, would its position have had any evidential value. All the unsightly debris of a late Theban burial—fragments of small statuettes and stelae, cones, cartonnage, Sokar-hawks, etc.—came to light, and amongst it what seems to be a primitive door-bolt in hard wood,[3] and a piece of a red pottery jar, with heads of a

[1] Cf. Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, Pls. XXIX, XLIV; *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XX; Jéquier, *op. cit.*, Nos. 34, 35 (from Tombs 71, 87); Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, II, Pl. VIII, No. 31.

[2] Cf. Wilkinson, *loc. cit.*, No. 35.

[3] Cf. Krencker and Schaefer, *Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 43, p. 60.

Results of our excavations

sacred ram and of a man excellently designed on it in black ink. Of *shawabti* figurines there were a hundred tiny ones moulded in red clay, and two larger ones in pottery, painted yellow, having the arms folded on the breast, and without implements. These latter belonged to a scribe Khenshotpĕ. A much finer one was in wood, 26 centimeters high, painted white, but with yellow breast and face to represent the gilded cartonnage. It has no implements, but carries the usual formula.[1] The assertion of the workmen that it was found just inside the inner room is more likely to be an error or false statement on their part; for the little figure is the destined servant of one Atef, and a man of this name is father of an earlier Nebamun, a scribe whose tomb (No. 179) was being dug by them at the time a short distance away. That tomb is of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

[1] It is now in the Cairo Museum.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE MURAL PICTURES

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE MURAL PICTURES

ONE of the most cherished of the gods' gifts to the Egyptian was the power to go out of the tomb and into it again at will, and in hope of this privilege, he was wont to throw his shadow beforehand, as it were, on the narrow walls of the entrance. Hence, on the west reveal we see Apuki (?) and his wife Henetnofret saluting with uplifted hands the god of day as they go out together and, on the opposite wall, Apuki entering alone.[1] The former scene is much damaged, so that their address to the god would be inaudible, were it not taken from familiar prayers to the sun. Knowing these, we can catch the closing phrases: "[Thou traversest heaven with] glad heart; for the pool of Desdes is tranquilized, and the enemy is overthrown and his hands bound."[2] The lady carries the sacred bead-necklace (*menat*) in her left hand. Somewhat unusually, its gold plate carries a dedication to "Mut, lady of Asher"; the goddess, doubtless, whose service she affected. The west reveal

The east reveal, being less exposed to the shoulders of visitors, is better preserved (Plate XVIII). Here we see Apuki entering the tomb The east reveal

[1] I take him to be Apuki because of the presence of Henetnofret (p. 7). Apuki goes out alone because the custom of leaving that part of the wall blank against which the door swung back left no room, as often, for the wife. The space, which sometimes (*e.g.*, in Tomb 40) shows the horizontal slats of the door in paint, as if they had left their impress there, is here painted yellow; thus reflecting its color at least.

[2] Budge, *Book of the Dead* (*Text*), pp. 9, 12, 36.

The east reveal

after revisiting haunts of aforetime, and, first and foremost, the temple of Amon, where perhaps he had found pleasant corporeal solidity in a statue of himself, and sustenance in the offerings duly laid before it. His costume is unusual. His left arm has been slipped out of the loose sleeve of his long gown, and he wears on his breast a pectoral, which perhaps, by showing a little heart in a naos flanked by symbols of protection and stability, ensures that he remain in possession of "his heart of aforetime." It hangs by a string of round and oblong beads. He is described as "coming in peace from the temple to . . . his tomb [of eternity]. He has received (?) a good old age and is passing an honorable retirement (?). He comes in weal and peace to . . . a golden pectoral (?) . . . in the Presence . . . [He saith] 'Grant, lord of eternity, that I be with you in To-joser; (for) I am one of you . . . whose aversion sin is.' For the *ka* of Osiris, the controller Apuki." On both walls there are sub-scenes, in which we can still just detect men bringing tables of jars and food (west), and priests offering incense and libation before a pile of gifts (east). They take the same direction as the figures above.

Significance of pictures of sacrifice

We now pass into the outer room; properly a hall of memories. But its wall-spaces nearest the doorway are treated as if they were extensions of the entrance walls; for here the owner gratified once more his desire to be shown making a morning sacrifice to the gods, first to the god of light and secondly to those who ruled over the necropolis. But if we ask, "Is he still the spirit-owner paying a brief visit to earthly scenes, or is this a reminiscence of former pieties which gained him a place in heaven?" the answer can be neither unhesitating nor simple. It may be illogical that the disembodied dead who lives "close to the great god" should be seen worshiping him with all the paraphernalia of earthly sacrifices; but the supreme desire that heaven should prove another Egypt was stronger than any logic. Nor can we expect a man decorating his tomb while still in the prime of life to be able, or even willing, to think the things of earth away, and envisage accurately or consistently the conditions of an existence which he was not anxious to anticipate. Life and death are a contradiction to us. To the Egyptian it might be the difference between

Significance of pictures of sacrifice

life on To, the flat plain of earth, and To-joser, the desert hills and god's domain an hour's walking distance away. Nor is this mere verbiage. The Egyptian had a word *makheru*, the easy insertion of which would have plainly distinguished between named figures of the living and the dead. If we can in no wise trust its use and disuse to indicate this difference to us, it is because the ancients did not feel the chasm as we do, or were able to make their wish not to feel it more operative. Nebamun and Apuki themselves might have been puzzled to answer our question. Inextricably mixed motives and beliefs, often quite incongruous, are the source of action more often than we like to think, and we should not lose sight of their existence, even when selecting the paramount incentive for simplicity's sake.

Nebamun sacrifices to the gods

On the west side of the doorway, then, the owner (Nebamun in this case, as the erasure of his name shows)[1] is found in an act of worship (Plates V, VIII); his gifts and prayers, here and elsewhere, being impartially distributed among a host of deities or deified entities. "Putting oil of incense and sacred gum on the flame for [Amon-] Harakhti; for Osiris-Khentamentet; for Anubis, the lord, chief of his mountain; for Hathor, the chieftainess of the temenos; for the evening bark; for the morning bark; for its crew and its oarsmen; for Rê and his disk; for the [greater company of gods] and for the lesser; [for the gods] who are in the necropolis; for the unresting stars and for the indestructible constellations; on the part of the chief of sculptors of the Lord of the Two Egypts, the child of the nursery, [Nebamun, *makheru*, (and) his] mother, the house-[mistress] Thepu." Nebamun, dressed in his best,

[1] For a similar scene and text cf. my *Tomb of Nakht*, pp. 11–13. The texts used in this scene are the only ones which are given a decorative value by being executed in polychrome. The hieroglyphs combine the fine detail of the older period with the careless forms of the approaching era. Thus also in Tomb 57. As will be noticed, the word "gods" is attacked by the illiterate iconoclasts only when written in its triple form and thus visibly polytheistic, whereas the very syllabic of Amon's name is defaced in the most innocent connections, and, once or twice, that of his wife Mut also. Khons, their son, is generally spared as a moon god; as are also the names of all the gods of burial, even here where the spirit of polytheism has run riot and bestowed new patents of divinity on the impulse of the moment. The term "monotheist" is one of which the followers of Aton are scarcely worthy. The movement was a vendetta against Amon, chiefly for political reasons; but with a more or less strong leaning on the part of the leaders to a purer and more natural religion.

Nebamun sacrifices to the gods

with long hair,[1] an elaborate collar, bracelets, and a goffered or gathered-up overskirt, pours a viscid oil over a heap of meat-offerings placed on two braziers. Four jars, similar to that which he is using, and showing proportions nearer to the true size, are piled with additional allowances of nard.[2] The oil of incense is probably not combustible in itself, but is poured over fragments of charcoal scattered among the offerings; for these are already in flames.[3] Perhaps, when this is burnt out, the pyramidal cone, which I take to be a pastille of gum mixed with white fat for slow burning, will be placed in its dish on top of the pile and ignited. We might be better instructed about this if the text over the head of the servant bringing it had not been mutilated by the heretics a few years later. "[*Sntr* incense for Amon], king of the gods, presented by (lit. "on the hands of") [Nebamun] from the hand of the sculptor, Nebnufer." The inclusion in the pile of gifts of a tailless bird (a quail?), with undeveloped wing and colored a speckled yellow, is to be noted. The brightly plumaged bird in Nebnufer's hand is also exceptional. It is perhaps a bird whose name makes it one of good omen, like the papyrus which is held along with it.[4]

Thepu

Thepu carries her *menat* with her, as a Greek his beads; it is something between a trinket, a toy, and an amulet. The mantle, which, for some generations now, had been worn over the simple skirt, is drawn over her shoulders; but the artist, for his own ends, has allowed it to dis-

[1] As often, the little locks are in moulded plaster, one row hanging thickly over that below, no doubt to give the aspect of a bushy wig. The device betrays the sculptor who is loath to surrender his effects, though working in paint. The same treatment is sometimes applied to the bead-work of collars, and in Tombs 71 and 100 an ear is moulded on a painted face with satisfying effect. See Mackay, *J. E. A.*, V, p. 114.

[2] The four pots are only placed below the stream of incense because their usual position above it is occupied here by the inscription. The outline of the nard they contain is just like that given to the pomade applied to the head and body, indicating a lumpy and stiff consistency; perhaps the more broken outline of the stream of incense may indicate that it has been rendered more fluid by an admixture of oil or other solvent.

[3] The offerings are gathered into a solid mass of color by using a background of blue with black spots (blue without spots on Pl. XIX). Though this exactly resembles a mass of grape berries, I do not think it is meant for that. It is a departure from the old analytic way of setting out the items separately, as if the list was to be mentally ticked off; and approximates to the later fashion of setting the offerings in a bed of greenery. One would think that the latter was a perversion of this very picture, the blue being mistaken for foliage, and the flames for a fringe of leaves.

[4] The bird has light blue wings, a pink belly, gray patches on the head and breast, and gray tail feathers. Cf. Budge, *Wall Decorations*, Pl. 3.

Thepu

close the bosom.[1] The exact arrangement cannot correspond to fact; if it had really been carried over both shoulders, it must have been tied above, not below, the breasts. Conscious of the elusive outline of a head of hair, and proud of his deft brushwork, the draughtsman has also been pleased to put in the little wisps of hair which escape about her ears, and add a fine wavy line outside the black mass. The loose hair at the lower edge, however, is shown as a stiff fringe, and may indicate that Thepu had to thank her wig-maker rather than her Creator for its luxuriance.[2]

Accessories in the sub-scene

The part of the sub-scene which lies under the main picture also belongs to it, contributing some new detail. The slaughter of the ox, which in companion scenes is often included in the one picture, is here placed below it, as is also the man following his master with incense.[3] Here there is a special feature. Four blind men, walking with faces turned to the sky, as is natural to the sightless, accompany the sacrifice with clapping of hands and an appropriate refrain.[4] "Praises in heaven, paeans in the bark Sektet, hallelujahs throughout the two Egypts, to [Amon] in all [his fanes], in his holy places, south, north, west, and east! The gates of heaven are open, the gates of *Ḳebeḥ* are thrown wide, a road is opened from the necropolis to the hills, that [Nebamun] may be refreshed, that the summoned meal may be given to him, heavenly rations issued to him, and anthems chanted to him in the solar bark, while he presents a *ḥotpedens* offering to [Amon, king of the gods], to Rê, to his eye, to his hand, to his body, and to Osiris-Khentamentet,

[1] The mantle worn over the under garment is already seen on the celebrated statue of Nofret in the IVth dyn. It may be, then, that its representation in the XVIIIth dyn. alone is new, owing to its more general adoption or for artistic ends.

[2] The armlet hanging between wrist and elbow is a comparatively rare addition to the toilette. We perceive its looseness from the slope given to it, but not how it was kept from falling over the hands. Ladies had the good taste to doff all jewelry when attending a funeral (Pls. XIX, XXII, XXIV).

[3] Davies, *Tomb of Nakht*, Pls. XI, XII, XVIII.

[4] These men seem to be a corps of beggars, perhaps attached to the temple, who act as a choir to any one making private sacrifice there. They are accompanied by a boy who holds their staves and sandals while they beat time to their anthem or play instruments, keeps a sharp look-out on their behalf, and pops the joints which the gods have done with into a sack. This, he reminds the gentleman in Tomb 69, needs propitiation also. Cf. Davies, *El Amarna*, I, Pl. XXIII and Tombs 49, 69, 78 (Wilkinson, *M. and C.*, II, p. 460), 106.

Accessories in the sub-scene

that they may bring good fortune to the child of the [nursery], Neb[amun]."[1]

Offerings to Hathor

We cannot say whether the customary duplication of this scene was utilized in this doubly-owned tomb to show the equal piety of both men, since the figures worshiping on the east side of the entrance are left unidentified by the unfinished inscription—perhaps deliberately (Plate IX). The pair, therefore, may in this case be Apuki and Henetnofret, or Nebamun and his mother Thepu again. They make offering to Hathor in her form of the Cow of the West as she emerges from the Libyan hills[2]; but her figure is entirely lost, possibly by erasure. Only a blue papyrus head now appears at the top of the wall and the opening words of address, "For thy *ka*, O Hathor, chieftainess of Thebes, lady of heaven, queen of the gods . . ."[3] Prominent among the offerings is that bowl of green stuff which is specially, though not exclusively, hers.[4] The type of the lost scene is shown on Plate XXXI, 2.[5]

[1] Note that the name Nebamun can be written with "Amun" first or last. The idea of the hymn seems to be that the praises of the devout in earth and heaven clear a passage to the skies through the necropolis, the western hills, and the cloudland resting upon them, by which gifts of food can be exchanged between men and gods. The worshiper who at dawn joins his praise to that of the supernal beings in the sun-bark, receives the response as he makes the evening sacrifice and the solar bark draws near again to earth. Heavenly gifts descend to him or he ascends to heaven, as he prefers (Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, II, pp. 25, 26). The eye of Rê is the sun's disk, his hands its rays (a trope which became the badge of the Aton worship a few years later), his body perhaps the whole brilliant vault of heaven, as Nut's formed the night sky. But in Tomb 50 the body of Rê is defined as the disk (*aton*).

[2] The papyrus reeds are an accessory of Hathor as the nurse of Horus in the marshes of the Delta, and probably have nothing to do with her Theban rôle. I know no other tomb which shows Hathor worshiped at the doorway, and none of this dynasty which shows her emerging from the hill, or which gives her animal form, excepting No. 130, where the cow in her naos is said to be worshiped at a scene of revelry (*Mission Française*, V, p. 348), and No. 15, where we see her adored by Queen Nofretari (Carnarvon and Carter, *Explorations*, Pl. VI). The early association of the queen with this cult is very interesting in face of her later identification with Hathor-Tentamentet. It seems as if she passed from being an ardent patron of the cult of Hathor to actual coalescence with her, and, just because she was human, ended by almost supplanting the goddess in the affections of the vulgar.

[3] This is the first of several instances in which textual matter is omitted, though space has been provided for it. The cause is not mere slovenliness, but also the failure to appreciate the animation and interest which the written text conferred upon the pictures, as well as its decorative value. These lacunae become increasingly common as mural decoration loses touch with human life.

[4] The same offering is laid before the deified king and queen further on because Nofretari is one with Hathor. Cf. Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, II, p. 19; and for the association of Hathor with these other guardians of the necropolis, Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, Pl. XXV, D.

[5] From a papyrus of the XVIIIth dyn. (Borchardt, *Works of Art*, Pl. 33). The stelae shown on the hillside indicate that, like all similar pictures, it is a reminiscence of the Hathor shrine at Deir el Baḥri.

Adoration of deified royalties by Nebamun

The representation on the same wall of Nebamun adoring the royal pair, Amenhotep I and his mother, Aḥmes-Nofretari, is a pendant to that just noticed. Its interior position and reversed direction befit their combined rôle of dead mortals and gods of the burial-field; for they were now gradually being accorded the latter rank along with Hathor-Tentamentet and Osiris- or Anubis-Khentamentiu. As in the majority of cases, the queen is given a dark, indeed here a coal-black, complexion; a distinction which has been taken as a sign of Berber extraction (though not confined to her among divinities).[1] The black color duly appears as gray where it is veiled by her thin mantle. She wears as queen the skin of the Nekhebet vulture as headdress (with the unpleasing substitution of a uraeus for the bird's head), a simple red *modius* above it, and the red sash at the waist under her mantle. Amenhotep's features have a close resemblance to those of the reigning king, the third of the same name, portraiture being, as usual, out of the question. The descriptive text runs, "The superintendent of sculptors of the Lord of the two Lands, Nebamun, [giving adoration to the king of south and north Egypt], the Lord of the Two Lands, Joserkerê (to whom life is given), and bowing [in homage to the wife of] the god, Aḥ[mes-Nofre]tari (who liveth), that ye may grant [all kinds of] offerings [and delicacies] daily, and that I may be provided with your [marks of regard (?)] as a favored servant of yours who is of your train."

Reflections on pictures of worship

The east wall (Plate XV) shows a further act of worship by

[1] Petrie, *History*, II, pp. 9, 337. Nofretari is by no means always painted black. So far as I have been able to control the instances, the employment of a black complexion in preference to yellow or red is about four to one. She is of black hue again in Tombs 49 and 161, both of the late XVIIIth dyn., but not in the early, and perhaps contemporary, tomb, No. 15. The tone is not always coal-black, as here, but a purplish black, reached by painting black over red; the black having sometimes almost disappeared, careful observation is necessary (Tombs 49, 54).

The black hue may be due, apart from any racial traits, to the idea that the dead or the dweller in the dark underworld should be of that color, or to the influence of a well-known and popular black cult-statue of the deity in question. According to Budge (*Gods*, I, p. 435) Hathor, with whom Nofretari was so closely connected, was born as a black child. Amenhotep I, the son of the queen, is represented black in Tombs 19, 161. Thothmes I has a black statue in Tomb 51. Mentuhotep's queen is black in Tomb 277; but perhaps she was really of dark complexion (cf. Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, II, Pls. XII, XIII, XVI, XX). Even if the black color were personal to Nofretari, it might only indicate a very dark complexion, such as now often occurs in Egypt, and be the echo of some early representation which recorded this. The Berber of the Nile, it may be remarked, is not black, and no negroid features are associated with the dark color in this case.

Reflections on pictures of worship

Nebamun, and so succeeds naturally to the adjacent one we have just studied. Once again we have to note a novel feature. Gods are not very readily shown on the walls of tombs before the Nineteenth Dynasty, except in the case of the chief funerary gods, and then only in the shrine, the passage to it, or in the lunettes of the stelae on the end walls of the hall.[1] Very occasionally a scene of their worship takes the place of the stela. It is this rarer feature that is adopted here, but with the difference that Osiris is accompanied by the four demi-gods who figure as his sons. They are the human-headed Imseti, the ape-headed Hapi, the hawk Duamutef, and the dog Ḳebeḥsenuf. Nebamun faces the little company of gods in the usual attitude of adoring prayer, a pose which seems to be the one natural to wonder and helplessness before an over powering presence or event, in which nothing can be done and only the emotions have play. When the feeling is complete, the worshiper instinctively kneels or prostrates himself, throwing the hands out of action as well. Where there is abjectness also, the arms are allowed to hang loosely down in an attitude of utter abandonment and submission; but it is to the credit of the Egyptians that this is not their regular position before the gods, and even the kneeling attitude is later and more rare. Sublimity, mystery, and beneficence seem to be the divine qualities acknowledged, rather than mere power, and such feelings may fitly be accompanied by emotional expression in words.

Worship of gods of burial by Nebamun

The explanation attached to the scene in this case is "Nebamun,[2] chief of the sculptors of the Lord of the Two Egypts, controller of the balances in Ast-josret, child [of the nursery], giving praise to Osiris and bowing in homage to Onnofer, heir of Geb and son of Nut, showing the two horns and displaying the *atef* crown, assuming ever-varied forms in heaven and earth, king to everlasting and [lord] of eternity. He says, 'I come in peace . . . [I have nothing] of that which the gods abhor . . . [I have no] falsity; neither am I, nor have I been, insolent. I did not

[1] Osiris or Anubis is shown on the end walls of Tombs 42, 48, 69, 85, 89, 112, 333, and on the side walls of Tombs 40 and 93; but these are mostly pillared halls. There is no parallel, I think, for a picture of the four genii as full-sized gods in this dynasty.

[2] The erasure of the name settles the identity of the figure.

Worship of gods of burial by Nebamun

transgress . . . [I gave to the] poor man who asked for corn. I did right for the lord of Right; for I knew that he lives thereby. Grant that I be among the favored ones who supply offerings to thy altar, in the midst of the great ones, in the number of thy train, my body[1] (committed) to earth, my soul in Dat, and I myself enduring with endless duration. I have come into your presence, O Lords of Eternity, to be with you in the holy land. I am one of you; for sin is what I abhor.' " This speech is, of course, the traditional apology of the mortal when he appears before the gods. A slip in the defense might be fatal; safety lay in approved formulas. The gods who sit before him in a row (as the overlapping thrones show), with Osiris in front of them,[2] are enumerated thus: "Osiris-Khentamentiu-Onnofer, lord of To-joser, the great god, ruler of all the living, having his seat in Abydos of the Thinite nome, (whose) forms are many in heaven and on earth, Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Ḳebeḥsenuf. Hail! ye Lords of [Eternity] . . . ."[3]

Honors shown to the parents

The owners, having shown their piety towards the gods in general, to Hathor, to the deified king and queen, to Osiris and the genii of the dead, now turn to the sanctified dead, their parents, and confidently seek from the propitiated gods burial blessings for them also (Plate XVII). In this case, then, their piety is disinterested. The figures of Nebamun and Apuki (back to back) in the center of the picture have both been expunged because they acted and were clothed as *sem*-priests.[4] On the left Nebamun performs the *ḥotpedens* rite before his parents. "Veteran honors from Osiris, who controls fit burial in the west, for the *ka* of the chief of sculptors in Ast-josret, Neferhêt, justified before [the great god] (and) his wife, the house-mistress Thepu, justified in the necropolis before the great god, lord of To-joser." "Pure, pure (four times).

[1] *Ḥ3t* is probably the reading.

[2] As the knees of Imseti overlap the figure of Osiris, a strict interpretation would place them in a group on his right hand. But the throne of Osiris is farther removed from the four than they are from one another.

[3] The dog's head of Ḳebeḥsenuf is a replaced fragment. The two scraps of text inserted here by Mr. Mackay may be queried. That on the left, being in black, is much more likely to belong to the same position on Pl. XIX.

[4] Perhaps this is what is meant by "taking the divine rôle of Horus, the eldest son" at festivals, and hence disapproved of by the puritanical Aton-worshipers (Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, I, p. 42). But the skin itself seems to be an object of hatred; for it is erased in Tomb 85.

Honors shown to the parents

For the *ka* of my father and my mother. Pure, pure; O Osiris Neferhêt! Thousands of bread, beer, meat, fowl, clothes, incense, ointment, offerings, and delicacies! Pure, pure (four times)! For your *ka!*" The act of Apuki is the same; but he continues, instead of repeating, the formula: "Fresh water, wine and milk, and all things good and pure which have gone up before Amon, king of the gods. Pure, pure (four times)! For the *ka* of my father and mother." He is introduced as "Apuki, controller of Ast-josret, controller of the balances of the Lord of the Two Egypts," and his parents as "the overseer of craftsmen in the temple Ḥeriḥirmeru, the controller Senennuter (and) his beloved wife, the house-mistress Netermosĕ." Each of the dead men holds a bouquet not much less rigid or formidable than the baton which it replaces. From under their collars two white or yellow ties depend, a feature which is rarely observable.[1] The dead sit on a raised platform in acknowledgment of their position as heads of the two families.

Blessings claimed by the owners

From this scene we pass easily, but perhaps not by intent, to that on the adjacent wall, showing the presentation of offerings to the newly dead, for whose benefit the tomb has been laid out. If scarcely anything now remains of this scene (east side of the north wall, Plate XVIII, 2), there is the consolation that it can have had little interest. Accepting the restorations hazarded,[2] it is pretty plain that Apuki was shown with Henetnofret in the place of honor in the lower scene, and we may assume that in the parallel picture above it his successor Nebamun was similarly provided for. Henetnofret is seated on a stool of ebony, inlaid with ivory. Their son (Amenemhêt?) presents them with a bouquet (?). "Accept thou a bouquet [of Amon, O controller of] Ast-josret, sculptor (?) of the Lord [of the Two Egypts] . . ." Offerings of bread and flowers are laid before them on a table formed by the *ka* arms placed on a standard, and having within them a red field, vertically divided.[3] A man and a woman

[1] They resemble the short stoles of priests (Schaefer, *Von Aegyptischer Kunst*, 1922, p. 110), or the longer ties of the vizier's robe.

[2] Only the feet of Apuki and of the person confronting him, and a fragment of text at the top of the wall, were found in position. All the rest has been refitted with more or less convincingness.

[3] So on Pl. XXVII. This, as well as the ordinary form of the sacrificial table, seems to be a mere symbol, not a real piece of furniture. See note 3, p. 55.

Blessings claimed by the owners

follow the first figure with other offerings. She extends a *menat* (?) and the triple papyrus with the words, "I have brought thee a bunch of flowers which has appeared before [Amon]. . . ." The upper picture seems to have been very similar, except that the tables on which joints were set out were carried in the hands in this case. All that one can read is ". . . with hearts and joints."

Changes now observable in pictures of burial

The burial rites which by their portrayal are recalled or recommended for observance, are found in this tomb on the west (end) wall and continued on the adjacent (back) wall. Their location in the outer hall is a breach in a custom invariable for bi-chambered tombs hitherto[1]; and within the scene itself also there are indications of changes which appear after the religious schism, but are here seen to have an earlier origin. Osiris is now the special god of burial, Isis being associated with him; the mourning wife sits by the side of the bier; women of the bereaved family accompany the convoy; the sarcophagus is set up for farewell rites and addresses; the tomb is shown as the goal of the procession; booths are erected before the tomb; the "opening of the mouth" is read and operations are performed on the dead with magical instruments; other novel details, too, are noticeable. Not, of course, that the rites had undergone just these changes, but that the traditional form of illustration had been modified. Yet a real change in burial observance is to be suspected, though the period over which it was spread is unknown. Even a superficial change in form may represent something like a revolution of thought in Egypt; for where theology is vague or inconsistent, details of practice become as sacrosanct as the deities themselves.

The scene here presents a difficulty

The rites end with the adieu taken of the coffined mummy before its final deposition in the burial chamber, a scene tediously common from this time onward. In such later pictures also two coffins or mummies are set up, and when, as here, they bear no sign of sex distinction, it gives rise to the natural question whether the second is by anticipation that

[1] The west wall of the inner room, where such scenes should have found a place, is broken through in this tomb to admit a burial shaft, but this, too, is a gratuitous deviation from wont. Tomb 55, which also shows burial scenes in the outer hall, is slightly later in date than our tomb. The innovation is continued immediately after the schism (Tombs 49, 50). Cf. the note on p. 43.

The scene here presents a difficulty

of the wife (whose person as Osiris might take on a male aspect), represents the *ka* of the deceased, or is merely the same corpse at a later stage of the proceedings. Here the problem is still further complicated by the double ownership of the tomb, and the choice seems to lie between an identification of the second mummy with Apuki or with Henetnofret. In Plate XXI the said lady is shown embracing the feet of the former of the two, while the woman who is exhibiting the same sign of affection for the second coffined figure is left unnamed. Not only has this woman a younger appearance, but her grief seems to be under greater control; while the wrinkled breasts[1] of the other seem a deliberate indication of a considerably later date for the interment of the foremost mummy, which the adjacent text seems to identify with Nebamun. These signs will, however, fit equally well the supposition that the younger woman is Henetnofret bewailing her husband on the occasion of her first widowhood, or that it is her daughter, who, when Henetnofret's own end should come, would naturally act as a sincere mourner at her mother's funeral. The solution of the problem seems, then, to be that the choice between the two identifications was purposely left to the fancy of the reader of this little drama. This refusal to be explicit is in harmony with other evasions in the tomb, and, if accepted, reveals a certain shyness of inviting curiosity regarding the double marriage and burial.[2]

[1] This must be the significance of the little lines; for, if they had been scratches made by her nails, a real tearing of the bosom, the custom would have been somewhere shown. It is copied in Tomb 49 in the case of the oldest woman (*Bulletin of M. M. A.*, Nov. 1921, Part II, p. 24, Fig. 7).

[2] In the later pictures two exactly similar coffins are sometimes shown without a reason for the duplication being vouchsafed (Wilkinson, *M. and C.*, III, Pl. LXVII; *Popular Account*, II, p. 359); but as a rule the omission of the beard from the second coffin (as in Tomb 31) shows that it was intended by anticipation for the wife, and sometimes this is definitely declared (Tombs 50, 55, 113). As Tomb 55 is a little later in date than ours, we may ask whether the latter actually set the precedent of a double interment. The question seems settled by the depiction of two mummies in a tomb (No. 162) which is distinctly earlier in style, though apparently of the same reign. Here the second mummy is beardless, wears a fillet on the head, and is supported by a female figure; thus showing clearly that it foreshadows the wife's interment in the same tomb. But it may still be that the novelty of showing the wife's coffin alongside her husband's has been seized upon in Tomb 181 as a happy way of recording Apuki's burial in due form, and yet, by the omission of names, reserving this memorial of him for those intimate with the circumstances. The embarrassments caused by the depiction of a wife's burial in her lifetime sometimes caused such silences too. It may be added that, as this recognition, in picture as well as in fact, of the claims of the wife to burial appears shortly before the revolution, it may be connected with the feminism of that movement. But there is only one coffin in Davies, *El Amarna*, III, Pl. XXII.

Ramesside models foreshadowed here

The ancient Theban method of depicting the removal of the dead to his last home in the western mountains was to show the convoy moving towards a figure of the deceased sitting at the funeral meal, the tomb and the gods being alike unrepresented,[1] or towards the deities of burial, the tomb being typified merely by inconspicuous false doors. In the Ramesside period, the funeral cortège, consisting only of the mourners accompanying the bier and the bearers of offerings, moves towards the door of a tomb with pyramidal summit, before which the mummy is set up and farewell taken of it with signs of extravagant grief. The boxed corpse in its lamentable inertness thus replaces the pleasant picture of the dead enjoying the amenities of their new life under the sympathetic protection of the gods; grief takes the place of acquiescence; the idea of a far-off realm of the dead succeeds to the hope of a tolerable, or even happy, existence in the open tomb within sight and reach of the land of the living.[2] In this tomb, as in two contemporary ones, the Ramesside model has not quite been reached, but an approximation is evident. The antiquated rites have disappeared; the burial procession now consists

[1] For the Middle Kingdom see Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker*, Pls. XVII–XXIII, and for the XVIIIth dyn., Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pls. X–XII.

[2] This contrast is, of course, too positive and only expresses the general tendency. Not only are we uncertain how far the pictures had always been, or had grown to be, inadequate reflections of custom, but the tomb-records, while making the above change of sentiment clear, let us see that natural grief and its expression had always had some place. As we might expect, it is the servants and dependents, those who did not find life so pleasant and had no prospect of a well-furnished lodging in the necropolis, who seek an unsatisfying solace in exuberant emotion. Or the optimistic outlook on life had become hollow, and, though convention restrained the official class, hired mourners expressed a grief it was not proper to show in person. Thus the succeeding king, Akhnaton, despite his joyous creed and his practice of giving no encouragement to burial customs in the tombs which he provided for his courtiers (knowing that such rites must prove antagonistic to natural religion), yet in the tomb of his daughter sets forth his own proper sorrow and the hysteric grief of his following (Legrain, *Culte d'Atonou*, Pls. VI–XIII). The tomb of an officer of his mother's household also shows abundant mourning, and something like the ancient rites (Davies, *El Amarna*, III, Pls. XXII, XXIII). In tombs previous to our period, too, signs of mourning are not altogether excluded. The figures of mourning women in Tombs 75 and 78 of the reign of Thothmes IV have been erased or left unfinished, as if they were deemed an undesirable innovation; of other tombs (e.g. Nos. 53, 55, 57, 69, 89, 130, 161, 162) which show similar groups, almost all are of a period closely approaching ours. Thus we see that the Ramesside feeling of the fitness of lament in face of death is, to a large extent, the open sanction of sentiments long cherished by the mass of the people. Personal emotion has swept away convention and the older fables; for, while a class, a church, society in general, can afford to be optimistic, the extravagance of personal claims makes the individual pessimistic. The scene of the lamented mummy seems to be derived from one of the long series of rites performed on the statue or mummy of the dead which is shown throughout the XVIIIth dyn. In Tombs 69 and 162 the rite takes a form very similar to that shown here.

Ramesside models foreshadowed here

only of the bier, the mourners, and the bearers of funeral gifts; the dead are lifeless mummies; Osiris and Isis are prominent as the august rulers of "the other land"; the picture of the tomb is a compromise between a façade and a stela (though its symbolical representation by means of a conventional door is retained as well); while the familiar goddess of the West is reduced to an insignificant figure or to her form of the hawk of the necropolis. The later outlook on death thus seems to have been fully reached, since the definite traditions of the artist would be still harder to break down than the wavering feelings of the people.

Significance of this anticipation

The revolution of Akhnaton on this supposition was less an innovation than an act of defense against an incoming lassitude in thought and life. On its best side it was an attempt, by concentration on the present life and by the recognition of a natural theology, to regain a more restful frame of mind. The victory of Amon was the triumph of a depression inherent in the economic and spiritual conditions of empire, which wasted on enterprises alien to the spirit of the nation energies which should have been devoted to ambitions in the valley of the Nile. Amenhotep and Akhnaton, in short, vaguely forefelt the distant catastrophe, inevitable where a braggart people challenges, on nothing but material resources, the virile, though uncoordinated, forces of the surrounding world. In this light, if it is not a deceptive one, the Ramesside spirit, so far from being a violent reaction against an uncalled-for schism, was already existent in the reign of Amenhotep III, if not before. Narrowed and hardened in spirit, and gaining unjustified force as a revolt against revolution, it was the natural culmination of the Imperial movement—outwardly brilliant, but inwardly shaken—a destiny which the schismatics had sought to avoid by stressing the spiritual gains of that contact with the outward world which was for the moment to make, but in the end to mar, the fortunes of the Egyptian people.

Upper scene. Worship of Osiris

The depiction of the funeral is divided into an upper and a lower picture, and is, it would seem, made applicable at will either to Nebamun or to Apuki. Both are named and both appear in the same scenes, and the parts they play combine together to make up the full ceremonial;

only the coffin and the tomb being duplicated, so far as can be gathered from the mutilated pictures.

Upper scene. Worship of Osiris

The adoration of Osiris and the provision of his table with propitiatory gifts on Plate XIX are an acknowledgment by the two men that their future happiness and supplies depend on the goodwill of the great god. This picture of Osiris, accompanied by the hitherto colorless goddess "great Isis, queen of heaven," has in itself a late appearance, due to the throne on which he sits being assimilated to the likeness of a tomb façade, and to the lotus in front of him, on which images of the four genii of the dead were probably supported.[1] Parts of the speech over the head of Nebamun are preserved; "Nebamun, [chief of sculptors of the Lord of the Two Egypts] in Ast-josret [giving ador]ation to Osiris, bowing in homage to Onnofer. He says, 'Hail [to thee, Osiris], eldest [son] of Geb, great god who issued [from] . . . Osiris-Khentamentiu . . . whom the divine Isis and Nephthys protect, whose spells the great ones within . . . whose utterances Horus (?) conveys to every god, whose deliverances Isis. . . .'[2] (Said) by the chief of the sculptors in Ast-josret. . . ." Apuki takes second place with a short address (perhaps the end of a longer one) which seems to identify Osiris with the ever-dying, ever-living sun. "'The beauty of thy daily dawning brings contentment,' says Apuki, chief of the sculptors in Ast-josret."

The head of the procession

The movement of each of the two processions is towards the tomb, symbolized rather than pictured by false doors, one in the form of a decorated façade, the other in that of the triply-framed niche, set on a heap of sand which stands for the necropolis. Men, representing various sources of supply, deliver simple rations for the dead into the charge of the goddess of the necropolis. These are no longer direct levies by the

[1] There is an early example of this in Tomb 93. The last of the guardian uraei on the cornice is turned in the reverse direction, as if to keep watch on that side also. It may be the first of the similar row on the return wall of the kiosk, at right angles, therefore, to the rest, or may remind us that they really face neither left nor right, but outwards.

[2] The three fragments of text are not necessarily connected. That on the left may be Apuki's separate address. Of this upper picture only the feet of the two deities, the base of the kiosk on the right, and the mourning women on the left were *in situ;* the rest is reconstruction. I have added a few signs outside the margins of the fragments on Plate XIX from notes taken when they were in better preservation. See also note on p. 42.

The head of the procession

deceased on his various properties, as in the olden days. Instead of that, the provident Egyptian now made contracts with the neighboring temples; hence, had these two files of men been preserved, they might have furnished us indirectly with a list of the gods and sanctuaries of Thebes, as in the tomb of Rekhmirê. As it is, only the names of Ptah and Rê-Harakhti are legible. The formula is, "I have come to bring to thee offerings presented in the temple of . . . [for the *ka* of] the chief of the sculptors. . . ." In the upper row the goddess receives the offerings on behalf of Nebamun. We catch a broken echo of her customary words of welcome, "O Osiris, Neb[amun], I receive and embrace thee. . . ." Behind these caterers for the dead come two processions, beginning on this wall and continuing on the next (Plate XXII), each (?) headed by a girl who uses a bivalve shell as a censer of a primitive kind,[1] and also, in the lower register, by a group of mourning women, one of whom is stooping to scoop up dust from the ground in both hands. The dust (colored light blue) is thrown on their heads and falls liberally on their white gowns, their trailing hems gathering it up also from below.

Cattle drag the bier of the dead

The teams of kine which follow, drawing the funeral biers, are probably destined to appear shortly on the altars. Certainly that is the end of the pretty calf gamboling in front and happily ignorant of the fate, more cruel than simple death, which a barbarous custom prescribed.[2] The pair of cows attached to the bier in the lower register are drawn with astonishing minuteness of detail (Plate XXIII), though the dark dun color of the outer animal prevents the brushwork being seen, except under close examination of the original. The attempt of the colorist to put in every hair and speck of the animal's coat, the impress of the ribs, and the creases of the skin, may not be meritorious art; but the beauty of line which he displays lifts it above a mere *tour de force*. It was

[1] Cf. Tomb 55. The cross which is observable on the girl's bosom probably represents the gusset at the neck of the high dress which the designer intended her to wear. Similar crosses are found on the gowns of Syrian men on a fresco in the British Museum (No. 37991). The girl and the two fragments of text overhead may be out of place on Pl. XIX; but there is scant room for her in the gap in the top register of Pl. XXII, and no obvious place for the texts there, though concerned with the "fitting burial" of Nebamun.

[2] In Ramesside tombs, if not earlier, the young calf that accompanies its mother in the funeral procession is continually shown with one of its forelegs severed, or being severed, for sacrifice, while the animal is still standing. There is nowhere any preparation to kill it.

probably a labor of piety, the cow being for him own sister to the heavenly beast whose under side was the starry vault of heaven; and it was with this thought that he bespattered her coat with a fine white dappling which recalls the Milky Way. The Egyptian cow, fed sparely at home during the summer and used as a draught animal on occasion, is a lean beast, and, if the artist has over-emphasized the thin, elongated body, she remains, none the less, the sleek and gentle inmate of the house to perfection. An unkempt old cowherd, assuming for the occasion the unsuitable rôle of an acolyte, sprinkles milk thinly from a jar on the path of the kine, as we do roses, in a symbolical act akin in spirit to the pretty greeting of the Arabs, "May thy day be milk!"[1]

Cattle drag the bier of the dead

Duplication of the cortège

We should have expected that to avoid duplication of episodes, the canopic jars or the mock corpse, the Teknu, would have been the object drawn in the topmost register, and this may have been the case, although cattle are never used elsewhere, except to drag the coffin itself.[2] Their repetition here, as well as the apparent reiteration of the long text above them, must be a concession to the exceptional circumstances. A lacuna which occurs behind the cattle in both cases was occupied, before the Aton-worshipers took peevish exception to it, by a figure of a priest with censer and libation jar. Three representatives of the cities sacred to the funerary gods feign also to draw the bier. This with its covering canopy of red leather squares is a type that, but for this picture, one would have called Ramesside, and the mourning wife, half-blind with grief, who walks beside it, is also an innovation (Plate XXII).[3] She probably replaces a female officiant hitherto hired to take the part. The efficiency of the tiny protective figures of Isis and Nephthys on the bark is so little trusted, for this world at least, that two daughters of the dead man

[1] Signs of rupture and a shaggy poll are met with again on Pl. XIV as touches by which the artist indicates the old man whom life has roughly used.

[2] The contemporary tomb of Ramosĕ (No. 55) shows the Teknu; probably its last appearance. Tomb 54, which closely resembles ours (see note below), shows a strange naos as the second object dragged (Pl. XXXI). It is very roughly drawn and colored, and seems to be an afterthought, as if the scribe had hesitated to follow his model. It may have been inserted by the Ramesside artist to whom the greater part of the decoration of this usurped tomb is due.

[3] As she is unnamed, as on p. 38, this figure may again invite identification with the youthful Henetnofret bewailing her first husband, notwithstanding the recurrence of her figure behind the bier.

Duplication of the cortège

have to keep the crazy erection from being jolted off on the rough roads. Apuki's daughter, Mutnofret, acts the part of Nephthys, and her reiterated complaint, "Fare thee well! Fare thee well! Fare thee well, my father!" has vivid grief in it. His son, Amenemhêt, who has taken up his father's profession, stumbles along in well-simulated misery. Whether the tears on his cheeks are real or no, the dust which he heaps on his head must be uncomfortably so. Henetnofret follows the bier in a similar attitude to that of the figure beside it. Four male relations (who, with others in the register above, may make up the nine "companions" required by custom) close the procession.[1] Of their names there survive only ". . . [of] Pharaoh [in the] southern [city, Amenhotpĕ (?)]" and "His brother the draughtsman, Huy."[2] The duplicated legend reads, "Men of Buto dragging (the sleds) to the West, to the land of the right-doers, the land of which thou saidest, 'My desire is thitherward.' Let them say to the cattle, 'Pull, ye biggest of the big, and let your hearts give no place to fatigue; for the blessed sculptor in Ast-josret is with you. Pull, biggest of the big, the load of the favorite [of Amon].' To the West, thy home in which thou shalt dwell for ever, O Osiris, sculptor Apuki. The western horizon is opened to thee. . . ."

Lower scene. Last rites before the tomb

The picture on the upper half of both walls has shown the essential features of happy burial—the conveyance of the corpse to the tomb, the provision of propitiatory gifts, the consequent welcome of the dead by the tutelary deity of the necropolis, and, on the other side of the doors of death, the appearance of the dead before the great god. The lower scene is concerned with what is, after all, secondary—the grief of the bereaved and their loyal provision for his semi-mundane needs. Their thoughts do not wander beyond the tomb, seen on the right as the goal

[1] I now see that the fragment showing four heads on which I have based my restoration in the top register of Pl. XXII more probably belongs to the four women who raise their arms in lamentation in the upper half of Pl. XIX.

[2] Tomb 54 belongs to a sculptor ("wielder of the chisel"), Huy, who began to decorate it exactly in the style of our tomb, but only partially completed it. The son of his daughter finished it for himself in the most degraded Ramesside style, giving startling proof how completely art-sense could disappear in Egypt in two generations (See *Bulletin of M. M. A.*, Dec., 1922, Part II, p. 53, Fig. 5). I am inclined to see in this Huy the same man as is shown here, though the name is of the commonest; for the similarity of its earlier parts to the corresponding pictures in our tomb is very striking (cf. Pl. XXII with Pl. XXXI).

Lower scene. Last rites before the tomb

of the action.[1] This building has a peculiar form, which is not met with again, and has no resemblance to the actual sepulchre or to any other in the cemetery (Plate XXI). It consists of a plain white façade which, instead of extending to right and left of its doorway, towers narrowly upwards and admits there a little window or stela and a decorative string-course. The actual door is of grained wood with a carved panel showing the worship of Osiris by the owner.[2] As no traces of a sky-line like this occur in tombs, the representation must be derived from the rounded stela which in later pictures is often shown by the side of a pyramidal tomb, and which, by synecdoche, may often stand for the tomb itself. The forms of tomb and stela are thus combined into a curious unreality. A study of it might give useful insight into the mental instincts on which Egyptian symbolism rests. The string-course is formed of red disks on a lighter red ground, but no such decoration of a tomb-front, or even of a stela, is extant. Rhind, however, avers that he found at Thebes a façade ornamented with inset pottery cones, and the supposition that the picture is to be interpreted in this way is not negligible.[3]

Mourning by female relatives

Before this tomb two exactly similar anthropoid coffins are set up for farewell demonstrations by the women. Both coffins are bearded, and are presumably those of the two husbands of Henetnofret. Cones of ointment are placed on their heads, as if they were the mummies themselves. A great bouquet is set up before the coffin, and the strong scent of lotus, mandrake, and poppy could be relied on to overpower

[1] The duplication of the tomb may be due either to the double burial commemorated or to the inconvenience and faulty composition which would have been involved in a drawing of the tomb which took in both registers.

[2] Carved wooden doors preserved to our day are those of Sennojem in Cairo Museum, of a small shrine of Mosě in Moscow (*Musée des Beaux Arts Alexandre III*, Pl. XIII), of Khenshotpě in the British Museum of Senennuter in Berlin, and of Mery in my possession. Mr. Carter reports an ebony tablet above a tomb entrance at Thebes. Framed windows or stelae are shown from this time onward in the pyramidal superstructure of tombs, and are found as actual features in the Ethiopian pyramids.

[3] Rhind, *Thebes*, p. 136. This string-course is again shown on a false door in Tomb 55 and in Tomb 49 on a structure containing the mummy and its supporters (Wilkinson, *M. and C.*, III, Pl. LXVII). There are other reasons for believing that these cones were employed as decorative building material on the exterior of the tomb, but the difficulties are serious. It would perhaps be an imitation of Babylonian precedent, but the original use of these cones in Egypt may have been quite different.

Mourning by female relatives

any reminders of the changes wrought in the body by dissolution or embalmment. The coffins, perhaps not without intention, are unlabeled. At the foot of the second a young woman crouches weeping, taking the foot in her hands as if to acknowledge a husband's authority even in death. Or we may see in it that gentle stroking of the feet of her lord by which the Eastern wife is said to induce in him restfulness or sleep, and which, with pathetic habitude, she now wastes on the insensate wood. The same office is being performed on the coffin of Nebamun by his disconsolate and now elderly widow, whose tearful eyes and drawn mouth, added to the dust she is strewing on her head, witness to the realism of her acting or the reality of her grief. She, as well as the other female mourners and the near male relations, wears garments streaked with that light blue (gray, that is) which has been taken to be the color of mourning.[1]

The ceremonial

The two rites of the opening of the mouth and of purification are now performed. The second officiant did not, of course, take his stand behind the other; it is only that the rite he accomplishes is second in time. For the words accompanying the first operation are "Spell of opening the mouth at the first celebration on the statue (its face being towards the south),[2] read (?) at the ceremony of entering into the tomb . . . of the north wind, thy face being towards the south. A shroud[3] is round thee. Thy front is thy front of the burial chamber (lit. "house of gold").[4] A king's purification; for the king is pure!" The text written behind the performer's back is probably the final part of his utterance. These customary words of ritual had from time immemorial imposed on the crowd

[1] So in many later tombs and in a few earlier ones. I am convinced, however, that there was no special garment or color, the tone being simply due to the sprinkling of dust on the dress. Exactly this shade is used for the dust placed in the hands and on the head, and not only is it seen on the upper part of the dress, but it is also gathered up on the hems of the trailing gowns. In Tomb 56 those of the women mourners who are pouring dust upon themselves are given clothes of a dirty yellowish gray, while those who are not doing so have white garments. In Tombs 53, 162, 333, mourning women who are sitting in the dust wear bright blue dresses. But, of course, professional mourners might adopt dust-colored gowns and hair-ribbons in advance.

[2] Schiaparelli (*Libro d. Funerali*, I, p. 26) shows that the performance was repeated at anniversaries.

[3] Variant *mnḫ.t* (Tomb 107).

[4] The reference seems to be to the gilt face of the cartonnage or of the coffin. Perhaps the "house of gold" is here the gilders' workshop.

The ceremonial

by their vain repetitions, but the wearied scribe usually cuts them short.[1] "Thy purification is that of Horus, and that of Horus is thine. Thy purification is that of Set, and that of Set is thine. Thy purification is that of Thot, and that of Thot is thine. Thy purification is that of Dadwi, and that of Dadwi is thine. Thy purification is that of Sepa (?), and that of Sepa is the purification of Osiris [Nebamun] and the purification of his *ka*."[2] The second priest, who is identified with "his son Amenhotpĕ," may be identical with the first one. He has donned the reed cape of the clergy as proper to the use of "the adze of Anubis" for the opening of the mouth. A boxful of other magical instruments, to be used in the remaining rites, is spread before this priest, but as they are often displayed and on a much larger scale, they need not detain us. A scribe Pasinisu-Parennufer[3] spreads open his papyrus roll, that the spoken may exactly coincide with the written word. What is actually to be read on it, however, seems to be "The scribe and *wêb*-priest, Pa[si]nisu (?), opening the mouth. . . ." Behind him again a lector, Amenemhêt (?), the erasure of whose figure indicates that he wore the obnoxious leopard's skin, purifies with water the pile of offerings, that they too may correspond to the immaculateness of the partaker. For the water flung over the dead has insulated him from all the defilements of the atmosphere, while the clean sand beneath his feet (not shown in this instance) severs him from those of earth. The fragmentary text above Parennufer only provides dubious phrases, ". . . the . . . serpent is destroyed for thee (?), for thou (?) art of the train (of the god) . . . the white crown is affixed and the red crown is affixed. . . ." In the background is a group of women, the friends or more distant relatives of the house. They either stand with folded arms in tearful resignation, or cower, pouring dust on their hair, in token that the pride of life is quenched within

[1] The usual contraction "and vice versa" is not used here; but one of the repeated phrases is defectively written.

[2] The erasure of the name makes its restoration sure. The unusual close might be quoted in support of the attribution of the second coffin to the *ka* of the deceased, but it lacks other evidence. Osiris of Dadu is not generally referred to in the formula and is superfluous, as there is already a god for each quarter of heaven.

[3] See p. 61.

The ceremonial

them. Little is now left of their words of encouragement. We can only see that Thot, "master of divine lore," is invoked, and that the overthrow of his enemies is promised to the dead.

The funeral booths

It was the privilege of the rich that whenever they halted for any purpose in making the round of their estates, their servants hastily ran up a light shelter of reeds for their comfort. The dead were not less well cared for. After making the traverse of the river, or the more tiring passage through the fields on their way to their last home, they found these little tabernacles offering them welcome refreshment and shelter; as befits the dead, the food and drink have been purified by fumigation and water by the friends who have provided them. Four such arbors are seen awaiting the convoy, and "the sculptor, Nebnufer" has taken the trouble to make his personal tribute to his dead master eternal, and to emphasize it by the addition of a slaughtered animal.[1]

The presentation of burial gifts

The procession of male friends, who show their regard for the dead, not by tears and dust, but by substantial gifts of burial equipment, is headed by nine men, each of whom carries two little caskets suspended from a yoke on his shoulder (Plate XXIV). Each of these neat and decorative outfits provides a meal and also all that is necessary for its consecration. One of the reed caskets contains the food and the other the drink. On top of the latter lies the censer, and the libation vase is fastened on in front by means of clips formed like hands. The little water-jar slung on the rope in a net probably provides for the porter's own thirst, which in Egypt seems limitless. Thus by means of the

[1] These tabernacles, however, may have been erected as a sojourning place for friends during a festival of several days, as at the modern feast of Bairam. They are rarely shown in pre-Ramesside tombs and are then not associated with burial, but with the voyage to Abydos (Tombs 57, 75), or with a festival in which the statue of a king (Tombs 19, 51), or, in imitation of royalty, the ordinary dead (Tombs 87, 100) was drawn in a barge round a piece of water, perhaps the temple lake. In later times the erection of the booths is shown as an incident of the interment, our tomb furnishing the first instance. The deceased is never shown in them, but only ministrants within or without. In Tomb 85, however, ritual is performed on a statue in a similar tabernacle, and in Tombs 57, 75 we see an empty chair there with a bouquet placed across it, as if symbolizing life which is too ghostly to be shown in human form. There may be one booth for the man (Tomb 57), two for the pair (Tomb 75), or four (in the earlier tomb, No. 87, and therefore unconnected in our tomb with the double burial). The water-pots were afterwards thrown down and broken in a simulated transport of grief, or to assimilate them to the state of the owner (Tomb 44 and Fechheimer, *Die Plastik*, Pl. 167).

The presentation of burial gifts

texts with which the tomb was also furnished, the dead man could be his own household priest. A colored cloth thrown over each yoke may be a table-cloth.[1] More permanent gifts are a set of staves, a cushioned chair (blotted out again for some reason), sandals, a scribe's red leather writing case, an inlaid casket, a scribe's palette and tablet, two *shawabti* boxes, a bed with mattress and head-rest, a light cane, another casket, canes, a spare head-rest, and four cruses of ointment on a stand. Finally a child trudges along, carrying in his hand a pair of sandals and on his head a little table spread with the tools of the dead sculptor, whether because they might not be used again, or to enable him to carry on a profession without which he was lost, as we say with a careless truth which the Egyptian could appreciate much more keenly. We can distinguish an adze, a saw, three fine graving chisels, a bow-drill, and some other instrument (Plate XXIV). Seven "companions" bring up the rear, wearing the mantle and short skirt.

Passage of the river by officials and guests

In the lower register of Plate XIX we are transported to the river bank, the tomb being introduced again merely as a caption to the scene.[2] It is impossible to decide whether the two arbors are set up before the tomb or on the shore; probably the former, and in that case we must supply in imagination a long spatial gap between them and the three ladies of the family, attended by mourning women, who wait on the bank to receive the official representatives, the bearers of furniture, the guests, and, finally, the dead himself. They are "his (Apuki's?) sisters," Asi, Mutnofret, and Hentaneb. The presence of a high official of the necropolis lends administrative sanction to the proceedings. He is "President of the West (?) and controller of the temenos on the west of Thebes." An injury to the wall prevents us from assigning their exact rank and number to the passengers in the first boat, "the elder . . . the priest . . . the temple-father . . . the *wêb*-priest . . . the head artisans of the temple of Amon in Ast-josret, who say, 'O ferrymen, ye (?) are

[1] Table covers, usually white, are also red or blue (Davies, *El Amarna*, I, Pl. XXIII). The loaves are seen lying within such caskets (*ibid*, III, Pls. V, VII). For the caskets see Tombs 55, 85, 172, and elsewhere.

[2] Tomb 333 seems to afford a second contemporary instance of a depicted tomb.

Passage of the river by officials and guests

about to set one favored of Amon over to the West, as is done for one who has done right on earth.' "[1] In the stern, looking back to the following bark of the dead, is "his (Apuki's) brother, [Amen]emhêt,"[2] who cries, "Thou art bound for the West; thou art bound for the West, my righteous (?) one; thou art bound for the West."[3] The next boat, which is in tow to the first, contains the porters. The man in the bow holds a floral offering and voices the sentiments of the passengers: "May his resting-place in the necropolis be acceptable; may he have a rock tomb of the West; may powerful spells be said for him at the door of his chapel; may he adore the god . . . (when) he sits in the place of twofold Justice, as is done for one who has done right on earth." The men in the boat bring flowers, vases of ointment, a decorated vase, a chair, and jars. The second man is perhaps labeled "the sculptor in Ast-josret, Sobek."[4] As before, the man in the bow turns with gestures of grief to the funeral barge behind.

Facial expression of sorrow

That craft is towed by a large passenger boat, crammed with wailing women who crowd the roof of the cabin and indulge in the wildest demonstrations of sorrow (Plate XXVI). The depiction of grief on their faces is perhaps the most successful effort of its kind in Egyptian painting, which had never before attempted facial expression but had sought to supply the lacking effect in other ways. This little design, indeed, seems to have provided the classical instance and the model on which all later representations of the funeral procession were based. When one considers how very modern, relatively speaking, is the exhibition of feeling through facial form, whether in color or line, we may in part appreciate the courage shown by this member of the school of Ast-josret. It was perhaps not an accident that this important discovery was made in a

[1] The fracture through the titles suggests that the name of Amon followed in each case. Note the complete and untanned skin of some long-tailed animal which protects the rope lashing the steering oar to the post. So also in Tombs 40 and 162, and on a stela in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

[2] Actually "sister"; but this error in gender is often made in tomb scenes.

[3] Even natural ejaculations like these were prescribed (Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, I, pp. 70, 72, 91, etc.).

[4] Since the plate was printed I have been able to discover beneath the film of dried mud which covers the scene some details which my assistant had missed.

school of sculptors. Facial character is much more easily depicted by the statuary than by the painter; and though Egyptian painting in its subsequent course made no advance on Nebamun's achievement, Saïte sculptors, strongly influenced by early models, showed great ability in this direction.

Facial expression of sorrow

The mad gestures of the women, who even invade the lower deck and weep in the very face of the steersman, are in humorous contrast with the resignation of the men, who squat dejectedly on the edge of the upper deck, as if their part at funerals was merely to act as a cordon to the emotional violence of their women. This agitated scene is balanced by the rhythmical movement of the rowers, as its simple colors are set off by the rich decorations on the cabin and the painted panels on the ship's side. The delicate brushwork in this register has all the more merit as it has been used at so slight a distance from the ground that a severe effort was demanded to avoid rough execution. What survives has been saved by purest chance; had rain-water invaded the tomb but a little more freely, this master-work would have been lost in the sea of mud which has swamped the main deck, stopping short just at the feet of the group above.

Other features of the scene

The ornamentation on ships of this class is almost invariable, and need not be further referred to here. The funeral barge, too, calls for no remark, except that the lonely figure of the bereaved wife beside the shrouded bier becomes the accepted design from this time onwards. Our artist was the first also to realize the full decorative value of the leopard's skin, and to paint with real success mingled smoke and flame (cf. Plates XI, XIX). It may be noted that the transverse lines on the sheet of papyrus which the lector holds represent its rolled ends, as examples in relief show.

We may gather from the pictures and accompanying texts that bright hours spent in the midst of family and friends might be looked forward to by the happy dead. But we should be much mistaken if we supposed that it was a prospect clearly envisaged and provided for by rite, by prayer, or by magical aids, pictorial or otherwise. For, as an

Banqueting scenes in general

Banqueting scenes in general

artist, wishing to produce large effects in inadequate space, leaves certain features distant and out of focus, so Egyptian faith knew when to eschew system and dogma and pass to unoutlined dreams. A repetition of the pleasant social relations of the past might certainly be enjoyed by the dead, since no happening in earth or heaven, no escapade or adventure, was forbidden or beyond his reach. But hope is at enmity with dogma. The pictures, then, that we meet with in the outer halls of tombs do not definitely represent or secure such a reunion. Those who regarded them with satisfaction would assuredly not have welcomed ghostly presences in their homes and merry-makings. The scenes are primarily memories of the part which the dead might enjoy beyond cavil, and hopes surpassing these are only disclosed by a phrase, an epithet, an exaggeration which, being scarcely applicable to life here, might be regarded as hyperbole or as prophecy, according as mood or mentality inclined. Such scenes of feasting often occur more than once in different parts of one tomb, and a distinction needs to be made between them, even when the ancients failed to observe it and added elements of confusion. Three separate classes of banquets are perhaps depicted. One is the regular meal of the dead, which he would hope to enjoy daily, but which, for the common man at least, could only be so provided pictorially or by written spell. This is pictured repeatedly; above all, near the stela or in the shrine. It shows the dead pair sitting before offerings which a priest consecrates to their use (Plates XVII, XVIII, XXVII). The second depiction reflects an actual presentation of food and a real assembly of living relations on the occasion of the New Year, or some other anniversary. Here, too, the food was ritually offered to the dead; not in privacy and silence, however, but in the company of friends and to music and laughter. The third kind of meal is such as we are now to consider. Placed in the chamber of records, it commemorates primarily the pleasures of the past. No priest needs to intervene here, and no further regard is had to religious thought than had place in the banquets of long ago. The daughters of the house come forward with the cup, the garland, the ointment, the joy-bringing emblems of Hathor.

Banqueting scenes in general

The pet animal has place there beneath the chair; the meat and drink are material things, and not the ghosts of bread and wine; and, if they are offered to the *ka*, that *anima blandula* was a familiar spirit that began its protective or other offices with birth, not death. The distinction between these occasions of feasting was, however, not observed strictly by the decorators. The actions and words proper to the one crept often into the other. The shadow of death naturally stole over the happiness of earth, or the thought of heaven lent new depth and duration to the ephemeral joys of today; on the other hand, the familiar realities of the known world pleasantly tinged the monotonous expanse of eternity. With this word of warning against too rigid an interpretation of words and details, we may turn to the picture itself and enjoy its very incongruities.

The cup handed to Nebamun and Thepu

On the west side of the south wall (Plates V–VIII) Nebamun is presiding over the hour of carousal. The ridiculous truncheon which he carries, against all earthly habit, gives a sepulchral heaviness little befitting the scene. The strands of his wig, heavy with ointment, are suggested by a clever convention.[1] His mother sits behind him, while his wife, relegated to second place in his household during her elder's lifetime, has a pleasant word for her husband as she serves him with the wine, to which she has perhaps added a dash of some spicy cordial from her little carafe: "Take, drink, and pass a pleasant day within thy lasting abode, (ministered to) by the hand of thy wife, Henetnofret."[2] To

[1] Black lines and triangular spots are used on a gray ground. It is almost certainly a wig; for in Tomb 57 the fine natural hair is seen peeping out from under it. Gray may only be used here to bring out the black and give the effect of relief, not to indicate age. Even if elderliness is implied, it may be based on the hope, rather than on the fact, of old age. In other tombs also one figure of the man has gray hair, but another black, so that it can scarcely be taken to prove age at death, though parents are sometimes marked out in this way (Tomb 292). The triangles are taken over from the ancient mode of representing short but thick hair; but they really replace the little pit by which the sculptor marked the hollow end of a ringlet. The whole is thus the work of a sculptor imitating relief in paint. The broad border of triangles well suggests the thickly overhanging mass. The back of the foremost chair is here shown, though more generally suppressed to avoid confusion.

[2] The blue rings on the fingers of both hands of Henetnofret are rarely shown in the tombs, although these flimsy articles must have been generally worn in society at this period. Two rings are here placed on the third finger of both hands. The second finger of the left hand carries none, and the little finger of the right hand a thin band only or none. One is seen on the hand of the lute-player in Tomb 93, and the wooden fingers of late coffins are often loaded with them.

The cup handed to Nebamun and Thepu

complete the attractive group, "her beloved daughter, Mutnofret,"[1] sits by Thepu's side, and Nebamun's hound, "Good Guardian," at his master's feet. It is evident that dogs took a place in society then that is denied them by Islam, and this habit of giving names to their pets is an evidence of advanced culture and feeling that is of greater weight than more elaborate proofs. As with the fellâḥah of the present day, the woman's mantle is so ample as to drag in the dirt, and when the limbs need to be freed for movement, it is slipped from the shoulder and the slack carried over the arm. It is said of Nebamun that he is "sitting down to make merry during a pleasant day within his house of the West, this everlasting mansion of his which is in the precincts of Hathor, lady of Josret.[2] May she give thee leave to come up to earth and to the open forecourt of the tomb; so that thou mayest see the sun when he rises, and listen to the sound of the lowing kine. For the *ka* of Nebamun, superintendent of the sculptors of the lord of the two Egypts, controller of the secret department (?) in the temple of Ḥeriḥirmeru."[3] To these general good wishes, which chance visitors to the tomb might echo, the guests, led by Henetnofret, add their own: "Gifts (for) thy *ka!* Thy white garments, fine oil for thy arms, garlands on thy neck,[4] . . . in health and life, frankincense . . . which has appeared before [Amon] . . . in thy eternal home." That the lowing of the cattle should be music in the ears of the dead is a very human touch, showing how strongly the heart of the Egyptian official even in the capital turned to outdoor life. It is also a very tactful petition to make to the cow-goddess.

[1] Mutnofret should be by position a daughter of Thepu, and so sister of Nebamun, but she appears to be a daughter of Henetnofret by Apuki, for a woman so named has this relation in the sub-scene. If Henetnofret and Mutnofret were Nebamun's sisters, one would have expected the unmarried sister to have acted as cup-bearer. If, on the other hand, Mutnofret is Apuki's daughter, whether as niece or as step-daughter of Nebamun, her presence in this scene shows on what terms of amity the two families lived. Had Henetnofret been a daughter of Thepu, and Mutnofret Apuki's child, we should have expected the latter to have been defined as "the daughter of her (Thepu's) daughter."

[2] By the *sḥ* of Hathor, thus written, the *šꜣḥ.t* of the goddess, namely, the necropolis in which she resided, would seem to be intended (*Theban Tombs Series*, III, p. 6).

[3] For Ḥeriḥirmeru ("my face is towards the beloved") see pp. 6, 7. I read in the lacuna [hieroglyphs] with an abandoned, but not erased, addition [hieroglyphs].

[4] This is the collar of woven leaves and petals, or their equivalent in faience, worn by Nebamun under his collar of gold beads, as by all guests on festive occasions like this.

A privileged pair

The relatives of the pair sit before them, one married couple in complimentary prominence, the other men and women apart. Unfortunately their names, which might have elucidated the personal history of Henetnofret, are broken away or are omitted, whether from sloth or because this pretty family array scarcely corresponded to fact. In the uppermost row a young woman offers the *menat* and symbolical flowers to a married pair, and by this attention betrays a rank which they had probably won by age or death. The man clasps a decorated scribe's case in token of a profession of which he and the family were proud.[1] The lady sits on a cushioned ebony stool, decorated with paint or inlay, and both of them have footstools under their feet. He is "[Her father?] the favorite of [Osiris, jan]itor in the house of Pharaoh [in the city, servitor] of the goddess [in the] temple Iunef, [Amenhotpě],"[2] and she "[His wife] the house-[mistress, Mut]emwia, who has entered into her reward." Both are given the epithet "*makheru*" commonly applied to the dead, and, in agreement with this, their table is of the form reserved for mortuary feasts.[3] Though ointment is on their heads, their garments are not stained, and both women in the scene have the clear yellow complexion that seems preferred for deceased or aged women, though by no means confined to such.

Other guests

The first figure in the second row is also marked out by the attentions shown him. He has been given one of those pretty folding stools which are often found in Egyptian graves, with legs shaped to the neck

[1] Two little black and red penwipers (?) are attached by strings to a fastening at the side which has the form of a bird's head.

[2] For this person see also pp. 15, 44, 57. The temple Iunef (?) is not known. Its goddess is perhaps Hathor-Nofretari.

[3] The loaf in the middle of the table must belong to a [hieroglyph] sign engraved on the top of the alabaster slab, as often on square offering tables, and is set upright in the picture in order to be visible. So in the subscene and Tomb 69. But these tables of the dead seem to have been pure creations of the fancy and had no real models. Originally a round table was presented, set out with halved [hieroglyph] loaves, but the custom suffered change, and when, after a period of turmoil, tombs began to be decorated again, the uncolored representation was misinterpreted as a table set round with a hedge of reeds. The change was made the more readily as, by so drawing it, the table formed a rebus of the Sekhethotep offering, and thus, by virtue of its form alone, became a divine meal. With truly Egyptian inconsequence, when the form was changed, the color was retained, though now incongruous. There is a peaked form of the same table which seems to involve a perception of the apparent diminution in height of further objects, when set round the edge of a circular slab. But it may have a different explanation.

Other guests

of a goose pecking at a flower. He wears an added mantle, too, and is being rubbed with ointment and decked with a garland by two girls of the house. As no name is appended, however, all this may only set forth the deference which ought to be paid to elders on such occasions, no definite person being had in mind. Three men behind him have had official rank conferred on them by the batons which they hold, but only one was given personality, and that has been lost again.[1] The ladies sit on cushioned chairs[2] and are waited on by girls who place unguents on their heads, or pour wine into their cups. A little bowl is set beneath the chairs for each row of men and women. It is to be feared that this is a resource in case any one should over-drink himself.[3] This disgusting habit was probably a polite sign of thorough enjoyment, as belching is amongst the modern Egyptians. As only the handmaidens who serve the ladies are nude, we gather that the practice was confined as a rule to the women's quarters. In the contemplation of one of the very prettiest and most delicately executed of the many presentations of the subject in Theban tombs, the little yellow cat, with lolling red tongue and inordinately long tail, will command special attention. It is a marvel of deft brushwork, when one considers its size and the technical handicaps.

Similar scene in honor of Apuki

This picture of the family gathering round Nebamun is balanced in the sub-scene by a much less elaborate one in favor of the first husband. Here Apuki and Ḥenetnofret sit, with her little daughter, Tiy, nude save for ornaments, by her side, to receive gifts at the hands of their friends. The feast in this case is distinctly sepulchral, implying, by contrast with the other picture, that at the time of designing the picture Apuki was dead, but Nebamun still alive. The formal table of offering is used, the food is ritually consecrated, and Apuki is a recipient, rather than an honored host. The erasure, as well as the extant title, shows

[1] He may have been Amenemḥêt or Amenhotpĕ, son of Nebamun.

[2] The legs of the chairs in the lowest row seem to be drawn in perspective, but are not, I think, really so. The outlines of the front legs should also have been repeated on the *right* side of the nearest one, instead of the left; but they would then have intersected the line of the lady's skirt. Convenience, not perception, has ruled in the case.

[3] Cf. Wilkinson, *Popular Account*, pp. 58, 59, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, 392, and Tombs 38, 49, 53, 84, 333.

that a *sem*-priest was present to perform the prescribed rite.[1] A son, the elderly relative whom we met with above, and his wife, bring flowers, ointment, and a dish of grapes.[2] Mutnofret, daughter of Apuki, carries a flaming lamp and also a taper, either tied for support to a reed, or forming with it a rushlight, the wick of which is outside it (in picture at least) instead of within.[3]

Similar scene in honor of Apuki

The accompanying texts run: "Veteran honor with [Amon], lord of [propitious] burial, for the *ka* of the sculptor of the Lord of the Two Egypts, Apuki, the justified one." "His wife, the house-mistress, object of his love and desire, Ḥenetnofret." "A *ḥot*[*pedens* offering to Amon . . . consisting of] bread, of beer (?), of cattle, of clothes, of incense, of ointment, of (other) offerings and delicacies, and of everything good and pure for the *ka* of Osiris Apuki. . . ." "His son, sculptor in Ast[-josret, Amenemhêt]." "[Her father (?), favorite of] Osiris, door-keeper in the city in the house of Pharaoh (life, prosperity, and health!), servitor of the goddess, [Amen]hotpĕ, the justified one, son of the controller, Hêt." "His wife Mutemwia, justified before the great god, lord of the West." "His daughter Mutnofret."

The scene of industry which is found below that of worship on the east side of the south wall (Plates XI–XIV) was scarcely to be expected in the tomb of a sculptor, as it is generally seen only in those of high temple officials.[4] Apuki's father, however, had been a superintendent of craftsmen in an unidentified temple, and not only did Nebamun hold a post in the same establishment, but he and Apuki were "controllers of the balances in Ast-josret"; that is to say, as this picture testifies, they controlled the output of precious materials to the workmen of that temple or locality. A master artist was well fitted to judge the amount of raw material required for manufacture in his own or kindred departments,

The workshops of which the owners had charge

[1] Perhaps he was a son, whose name, compounded with "Amon," was written in the lacuna overhead.

[2] Schaefer shows that the cross-lines on the fruit represent the four compartments of the dish (*Von Aeg. Kunst*, 1922, p. 94). A dish of raisins in Turin Museum from the tomb of Khay is similarly divided by cross sticks merely. The strings of beads or berries which secure the upper rows of the bouquet are also observable on floral collars; once again they are a feature which one would have dubbed Ramesside (cf. Vol. V, Tytus Series, south wall of Tomb of Apy).

[3] An abraded inscription near her figure may have read "Making [fumigation] for the *ka* of Apuki."

[4] So in Tombs 36, 39, 67, 75, 86, 95, 100, 112.

and, no doubt, would have a number of treasurers and their staffs to control him in turn.

The design a borrowed one

It is at least safe to assume that this scene is introduced here because Nebamun or Apuki (the presiding official is not identified with either; probably with intention, since both held the qualification) occupied a post of superintendence in the workshops. The design has come down to us also on the walls of Tomb 75 of the previous reign, practically the whole of the two upper registers here being taken over from the earlier picture.[1] The temptation to re-use it would be increased if it were the work of Nebamun's father, Neferhêt. The differences of the replica from the original are worth studying, though it must be admitted that a certain baldness and lack of finish in the work of the earlier tomb makes the comparison unfair to the art of that period. Only a generation had passed; yet Nebamun finds much that he desires to alter. The field must be still further filled in, the figures given more life and ease, their fingers more suppleness, and the manipulation of the tools made more clear. The vessels need more embellishment and delicacy of outline, and above all there is room for greater fidelity to detail in every direction. The sphinx, for example, should not protrude its paw beyond the base, the flames would stream out under the blast, old men should be distinguished from the young, the chased objects must show that the engravers have not lost their time, etc. The later artist saw, too, that the design could gain by the enforced reduction in size, that the deftness which the scene was meant to depict should be exemplified in the painting, and that, the object of the superintendence being production, the men and their output ought to bulk larger, and the official and the preliminaries proportionally less. In all points there is distinct gain.

Weighing out the materials

Pictures of the industries of ancient Egypt have been discussed before, but the present example invites certain comments. The controller of the balances has certainly not magnified his office overmuch. The flowers which he holds seem as much out of place here as the baton in the banqueting scene, and the episode in which the gold is weighed out

[1] *Theban Tombs Series*, III, Pls. VII, X.

Weighing out the materials

to the workers is reduced to the smallest proportions. The equivalent of a bull's head weight is ten gold rings, as against quite irreconcilable numbers in the earlier picture. The post of the balance is fitly crowned by a head of Justice, a symbolism that is emphasized by the feather-shaped peg from which the plummet hangs. The specimens of the craftsmen's output which are submitted to the approval of the controller include some of the most attractive products of Egyptian art: inlaid *cloisonné* work, applied to trinkets, bracelets, and clasps for necklaces; fluted gold and silver vases; a painter's pen-case[1]; and caskets fitted up to receive jewelry.[2]

Influence of burial customs on art

The upper register, which shows the carpenters at work, bears clear witness that this is a temple workshop and that its products are destined to furnish graves and shrines rather than homes. We should have preferred, no doubt, to have seen the secular side of Egyptian craftsmanship. But we must remember that these scenes are borrowed from the tombs of priests who display their activity in the service of Amon, and must not assume too readily that religious ends monopolized the fancies and energies of Egypt. It may be that the manufacture of objects that needed only to simulate the efficiency and beauty of things in daily use often perniciously affected the arts and crafts of Egypt, especially if these temple shops were those that supplied its civil needs also. But, after all, the furniture of the house and of the tomb were not only similar but often actually the same, and our museums bear witness how large a balance of good the influences of faith yielded even in this respect. The ideals which give birth to masterpieces are not confined to religion, but neither does true piety foster that poverty of spirit whose offspring is shoddy.

Carpenters at work

Carpenters' work was, in any case, not that in which Egypt shone conspicuously, owing to its lack of wood and of tools of necessary sharpness. Yet we have more reason to wonder at what was sometimes achieved

[1] Halved ink-pools will be observed on the edge of the palette. This is evidently the place where the scribe conveniently relieved his brush of the surplus ink; for it is to be noted twice in Tomb 69. Some of the numerous palettes in museums ought to show traces of this natural habit. Cf. Wilkinson, *M. and C.*, III, p. 422. [2] Cf. *Bulletin of M. M. A.*, Dec. 1919, Part II, pp. 24–28.

Carpenters at work

than at the mass of meretricious cobbling which passes under the hands of the archaeologist. The cabinet-makers of the necropolis were mostly kept busy on the catafalques of the dead, whose sides in a first-class burial were formed of what looks like pierced work, but was in reality a very complex piece of fitting, each symbolic 𓊽 and 𓎬 device being carved separately, and secured to the rails by little tenons. These ornaments were ranged in pairs, less for reasons of beauty, probably, than that they might be read as divine promises of "doubled stability" and "doubled protection (?)." These little insets of four to six inches high are, for convenience, shown many times that size when in the hands of the workmen. They are cut in dark and light woods, but apparently not for use in the same panel. They are shaped, it seems, chiefly by an adze on a block, the chisel being used mainly for engraving lines of decoration. The man on the left is evidently intending to paint in the details, as a scribe's case is before him. A tool which it is difficult to identify lies by the block on which one of the men is sitting. If the use of the plane could be attributed to the ancients, this might be its nature.[1] An unkempt old rascal is doing the more difficult work of fitting in the carved ornaments by tapping on them with a light hammer. His physiognomy would not lead us to expect much from his work, any more than in the case of his comrade who does the skilled job of sawing up a log into thin lengths for the carvers. Our artist has shown a humorous contempt for the old fellows with thin hair, stubbly beards, gaping mouths, flabby stomachs, and shrunken legs; we could wish that this critical outlook which has given us men, instead of dolls from a mould, had been more developed in the profession.[2]

Interpretation of a drawing

Egyptian drawing, not being a mirror of visual appearances, any more than the national script reflects elementary sounds alone, is hiero-

[1] In Tomb 75, from which it has been taken over, it lies curiously athwart the field, but there the angles are so much sharper that it might possibly be a square for measuring angles of 90 and 45 degrees. No actual instrument of this sort is forthcoming, but it must have been almost indispensable for mitering.

[2] A puzzling feature is to be observed throughout this scene. The noses of many of the men have been defaced, but had previously been marked with little splashes of light orange paint. It looks as if some joker of the period had imposed a fit of infectious sneezing on the workshop, and then had carried the jest to a more unpardonable length. Some of the tools seem similarly marked, however.

Interpretation of a drawing

glyphic like the latter, and often admits of more than one explanation. Such a problem of interpretation is presented by the diagram in the middle register which shows a man handling a casket such as we have already seen. The object seen between lid and box is at first sight puzzling, and only one who is familiar with Egyptian archaeology, and can thus be ranged with those for whom the drawing was made, is able to pass a conclusive verdict. Here it will be plain to all such, I think, that the artist has desired to indicate that the box was being made for the express purpose of holding jewelry. He has therefore lifted off the cover, and has tilted up a pectoral which lay in the upper partition in order that we may see it in place.[1] Incidentally, yet not without purpose, he has given a date to his work; for this pectoral consists of the two cartouches of the reigning king, Amenhotep-Nebmatrê, with the figure of the child-god Harpocrates as a uniting link.[2]

Jewelers and engravers

The companion of this man may be grinding down the faces of two pieces of inlay against one another. Above him is a saucer of corundum or other polishing material, and a dish of precious stones, covered with a napkin to prevent pilfering. Above this, again, is a chain of tubular beads with small gold beads intervening and with a sliding clasp of lotus-flower and buds. The adjacent trinket shows a scarabeus holding between its anterior and posterior tarsi two symbols of the eternal circuit of the sun, that still to be accomplished and that already run—a highly aesthetic rendering of the creature's habit of rolling its eggs in a ball of dung. It is winged, and the wings, divided into partitions for inlay of color, shine with brilliant hues.[3] The little object at the side seems to be a chisel blade; but, as it is bright blue, it might be a piece of inlay. Seated with his back to the last worker, "the draughtsman of [Amon], Pasinisu, called (also) Parennufer"[4] is engraving an inscription on a libation vase.

[1] The back edge of covers was generally not hinged to the box, but slipped into a slot in the side, and could be lifted right off. See Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, II, p. 200 (Tomb 49 or 53).

[2] For the figure of Harpocrates in jewelry see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 69.

[3] Cf. Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, Pl. XXIII.

[4] He seems to be the same individual as the priest who takes part in the burial service on Pl. XVII, and perhaps also as one Khonsu-Parennufer, chief of the sculptors (?) of Amon, whose funeral cone is in my collection.

Jewelers and engravers

A fine specimen of the decorated vases, suitable for display rather than use, is shown above him. The heads of two ducks, each holding a bunch of blue grapes in its beak, serve as handles, and a balustrade, formed of contiguous flowers and buds set on long stems, runs round the rim. The color of these, as well as the heart of the open flowers on the flutings, must have been provided by inset fragments of suitable stone or paste.[1]

The sphinx, as is made plain in this specimen in gold, is of a tripartite nature, combining the royal man with the royal hawk and lion. From the first it has its head, headdress, and cape; from the bird (as markings only), its wings and a superfluous tail; from the last, its body, legs, tail, and conventional mane, as also the crossed bands belonging to the decorative form of the tamed beast.[2]

Smiths

Metal-workers are also engaged in hammering out gold or copper vases, one on a rod-anvil by means of a flat stone, the other with a lighter tool. Specimens of graceful vases of ordinary type, and two caps for the two jars in preparation, are displayed above. At the end of the register a coppersmith is using a portable furnace. The courage of our artist in attempting effects which those before him had regarded as beyond success has been rewarded by such a rendering of smoke and flame as could scarcely be bettered with such simple means. He works with tongs and blowpipe, but nothing more can be affirmed.

The lowest register has suffered greatly from infiltrations of rain-water. Metal-working is still the subject on the left hand, where lamp-stands are being hammered out and furnished with dedicatory inscriptions.[3] One of the workers is heating a piece of (red) copper in the fire by means of a blowpipe, holding it with tongs. The next group is too injured to allow a definite opinion on the operation. A seated artisan holds a red plate over a black mass set on top of a wooden block. This may be an anvil of basalt, as the figure facing him has a round black ball poised in his right hand at shoulder height. They may, therefore, be

[1] In Tomb 78 a drinking-cup like this is described as "a cup of gold, formed with inlay (?) of lapis, and filled with liquid."

[2] Cf. Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, Pl. LXXXV.

[3] In one case the stand and its shallow basin are separate pieces.

Smiths

beating copper into a curved sheet on a concave bed. The next group of five men is gathered round a flaming bellows-fed furnace of gray clay, with a red crucible upon it. The metal in it is being stirred with a rod by a workman, and the fire blown up by his four assistants. This form of blast-furnace is well known, but there are no less than four bellows at work, each operated by a man standing on it, and a fifth seems to be available at need. An ingot of lead and another of copper indicate the materials used. This episode, as well as the next, has been shown and commented on by me previously.[1]

Boring beads and vases

The finished strings of beads, which in Tombs 39 and 75 make the action of the next craftsman clear, are here put away in their box. The strange purple color given to the drill handles leaves us as much in the dark as ever as to the mode of rotating the points, particularly as the string of the bow acts on the points themselves, where it would exercise no torsion at all. One gathers, at least, that the resistance must have been of the lightest, that is, that the points were revolved without much pressure in a grinding paste, and that patience was the primary requisite. Owing to the essential similarity of their task, though on so different a scale, those who bore out alabaster vessels are placed next to the jewelers; indeed, among them, for the last figure seems to be stringing up beads into a collar. So one must judge from the clasp above him; the unusual form the collar is assuming might be explained by its being a sheet of stiff material (yellow), on which the beads are temporarily set out, the little blue and red ones in the central space being those still unused.[2] The limited wall-space and the unwillingness of the Egyptian draughtsman to originate wholly new designs probably make this scene a very inadequate record of the varied interests and responsibilities of this "controller of the royal balances." We must, however, be grateful that the veil which hangs over the career of the art-workers of ancient time has been lifted even by so much.

[1] For the furnace and manufacture of beads and stone vases, see *Tomb of Puyemrê*, Vol. I, pp. 73–76.

[2] The adapter of the old design may have been led into confusion here. In Tomb 75 the makers of horse-pads and other trappings follow immediately on the jewelers (*Theban Tombs Series*, Vol. III, Pl. X) and one of these articles in leather *appliqué* work may have been mistaken for a bead-work collar.

An unfinished shrine

The inner chamber of the tomb has had its mud-lined walls slopped over with a thin wash of white, and two thirds of the east wall has been decorated against a ground color of that glistening yellow which is generally reserved for shrines and kiosks (cf. Plate X).[1] One can gather from the condition of this scene the probable history of its execution. It was at first intended to paint it in proper style, and at the far end figures of one of the owners and his wife (?) sitting before a small table of offerings were carefully put in (Plates XXVII–XXIX). Perhaps the consecrating priest facing them was drawn with equal care; but this figure has been erased, as always. At this stage it became evident that the decoration could not be finished. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to carry it further in the short interval remaining. If the original design was adhered to, it is likely to have been meant to depict the celebration of a feast-day by the family of the deceased, and not the ordinary meal of the dead. For the addition consists of two musicians enlivening the banquet, and a married pair, of almost the same size as the chief personages, sitting in front of them; the first, presumably, of a row of guests, to judge by the direction in which they face. They are receiving flowers from the hand of a young woman, but, as there was no time to insert the projected texts, we are unaware whether the man represents the other owner of the tomb, or, as is more probable, the privileged Amenhotpĕ and his wife (p. 55).[2] This part of the scene seems to have been entrusted to another painter who worked simultaneously with the first. While the chief artist was carefully finishing the main figures on the left, his coadjutor worked on the female figure on the same side of

[1] Perhaps because of the name "house of gold" (see p. 46).

[2] The picture has a strong resemblance to the banquet scene (Pl. V) particularly if, as is well possible, the girl was offering a *menat* again as well as flowers, Henetnofret being replaced by the *sem*-priest and musicians. Was it in that case a repetition of the reception by Nebamun and Thepu; a replica, showing Apuki and his wife in the place of honor, and her parents as chief guests; or, as a third alternative, the two owners, with mother and wife respectively, and a son and daughter ministering to them? The part of the scene on the upper half of Pl. XXVIII was not found in even this degree of completeness. The extant part reached only to the knees of the figures; the rest has been made up of nine or ten fragments found on the site. The bindweed wound round the stems is again a forecast of a feature of the new art which the later era endorsed. The hanging head of papyrus could possibly belong to the stems in the man's hand, instead of to the more stiffly drawn bouquet.

An unfinished shrine

the portion assigned to him, and devoted more time to her attractive person than he could well afford; for both painters were obliged to conclude their tasks in the most summary way. While the assistant threw in the seated pair more and more roughly as leaving-time drew near, the master sketched in the figures connecting the two portions with strokes of red color that show vigor and the practised hand, but are in strong contrast to the precise and ordered laying out of figures which we expect from an Egyptian artist. The whole was probably the work of half an hour or less, dashed off, indeed, with such speed that the draughtsman has had to correct his tentative lines continually. The figures are those of a blind lute-player in a standing position, with the upturned pose of the head much exaggerated (cf. Plate V), and a companion sitting on the ground with crossed legs and beating time to the strain. In his enforced haste the artist has evidently placed on the wall one of those preliminary projects for a design which are sometimes found on ostraca, and the expert will probably acknowledge that the sketch is full of powers to which the limitations of Egyptian art rarely gave scope. After our draughtsmen had pushed the design thus far, perhaps against all orders, they hastily ran the yellow background round, and frequently over, the outlines, and hurried away to a new enterprise. Tomb 181 may thus be one more of the very many tombs which reveal an unwillingness to incur the expense of a full execution of the proposed designs.

This incompleteness may have a political cause

But its abrupt close may have had a deeper cause. The political storm which was about to break upon Thebes may well have involved this little enterprise in its first reverberations, and made it one of the last monuments of merit to be executed in the necropolis for long years to come; thus rendering it a symbol of the national movement which it vaguely incorporates, except that, while this only received a temporary check, the injury to the design was lasting. For the protest of Akhnaton, however much we may sympathize with it, and whatever its intrinsic value may have been, was an attempt to divert a Nile with far distant sources and immeasurable reserves into a hastily dug and confined backwater. As I interpret this tomb, it unconsciously represents those who,

This incompleteness may have a political cause

while feeling the inadequacy of the old beliefs, were nevertheless satisfied with, or hopeful of, the changes already at work, or at least welcomed them in preference to the violent counter-proposals to which the reforming party was more and more impelled. The old faith was, no doubt, lacking in feeling and a basis in the higher human needs; consequently the art to which it gave rise was one of hard forms and rigid conventions. But these artists distrusted, and not without reason, the attempt of whimsical men to pour the heady wine of non-conformity into old wine-skins whose outworn condition they themselves professed to condemn. The State could not be re-made by a flight from its capital, and the fourth year of Akhnaton marks an Hegira that failed. Egypt must fulfil its ancient destiny of the sublime Sorcerer and the brilliant and even refined Barbarian. Nebamun and Apuki were its true sons and their tomb was the forerunner of the coming age. It terminates, not inappropriately, in this golden glow in which the two (?) artists sit, while all around them is vacancy. For the next decades must have been drear and blank for the surviving craftsmen of Thebes who adhered to the ancient ways. The brilliant art of the iconoclasts has left few relics in the necropolis, and those so poor and incomplete that they cannot be represented in this series. But the earliest and best products of the renascent tendency, conservative, yet sapid, with which Nebamun and his circle had taken sides will shortly be exhibited in its fifth volume.



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PLATES

PLATE II

THE KHOKHAH RIDGE AND TOMB 181

A. From the western hills. In the center is the low ridge, with the domed house of the Expedition on the northern slope. Tomb 181 lies well down on the southern slope and is marked by a man standing just above the second telephone pole from the right of the picture

B. From the south. Above the ridge a path is seen going over the hills to the Tombs of the Kings. Tomb 181 lies below the feet of the man standing in the center of the picture





PLATE III

VIEWS OF THE INTERIOR

A. The east bay of the tomb. On the right is the doorway. The subjects of Plates V-XVIII are visible

B. The west bay. The subjects of Plates I, V-VIII, XI, XII, B, XIV and XIX-XXVI are visible

(See page 17)



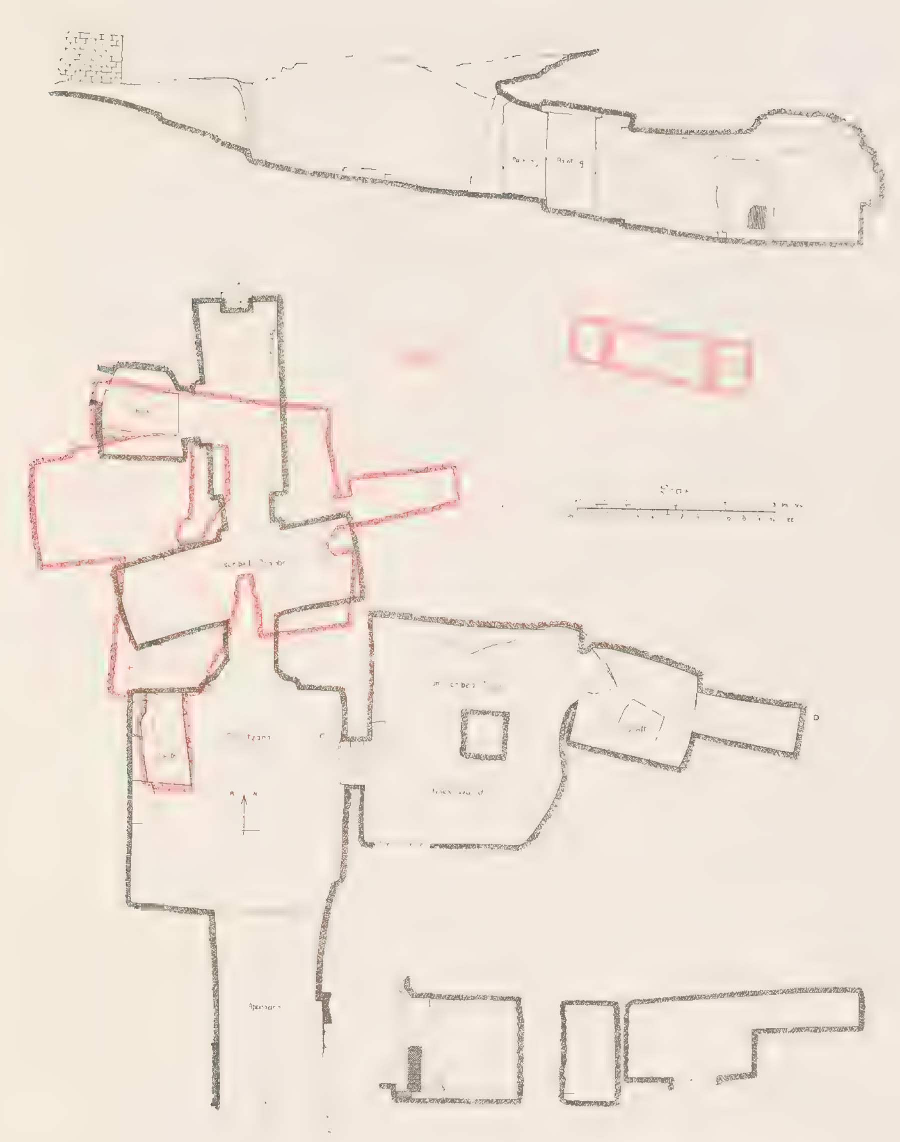


PLATE IV

PLAN OF THE TOMB. SCALE 1:75

The constructions below the level of the floor are in red ink. A longitudinal section on A.B. is at the head of the plate, and a transverse section on C. D. at the foot

(See pages 17, 18)



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PLATE V

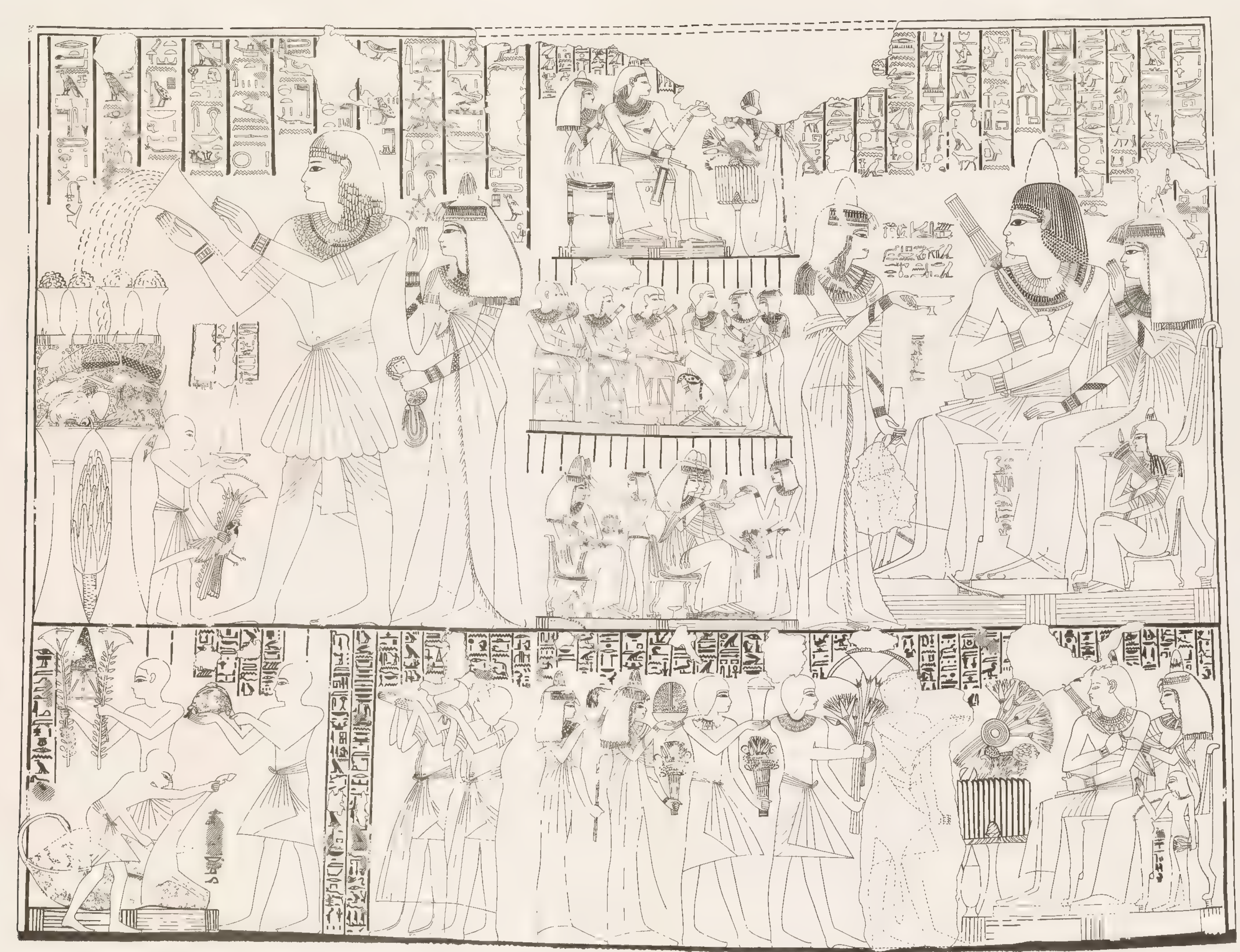
SOUTH WALL, WEST SIDE. SCALE 1:4

As the doorway lies to the left of the picture, this part deals with the worship of the sun and other gods

(See pages 28-31)

The other half holds a banqueting scene

(See pages 53-57)



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PLATE VI

DETAILS FROM PLATE V

A (left). The guests

(See pages 55, 56)

B (right). Banquet in honor of Nebamun and his mother, Thepu. Offerings to the dead Apuki and Henetnofret

(See pages 51-57)

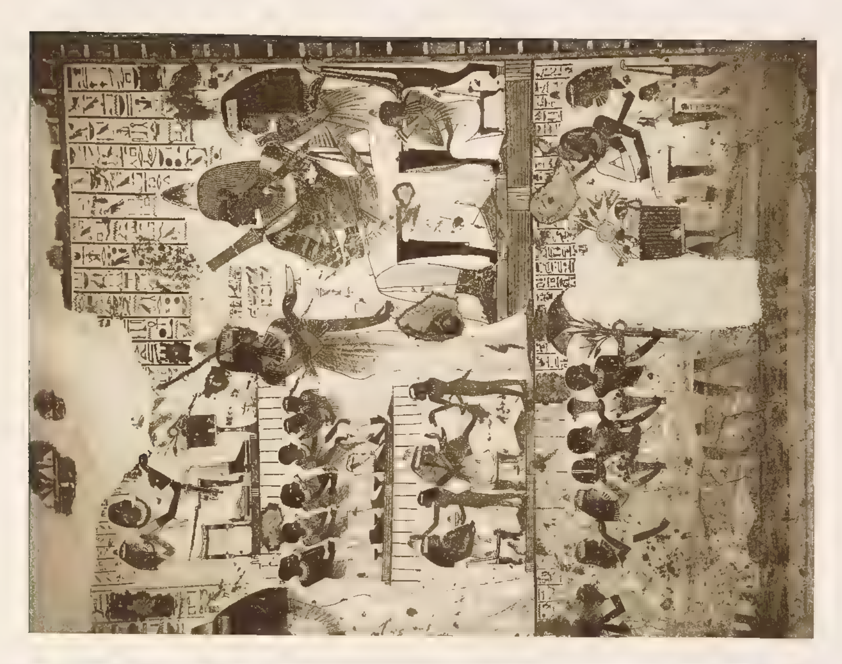



PLATE VII

GUESTS AT THE BANQUET. DETAIL FROM PLATE V

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

(See pages 55, 56)



PLATE VIII

A SACRIFICE TO THE GODS. DETAIL FROM PLATE V

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

(See pages 29-31)

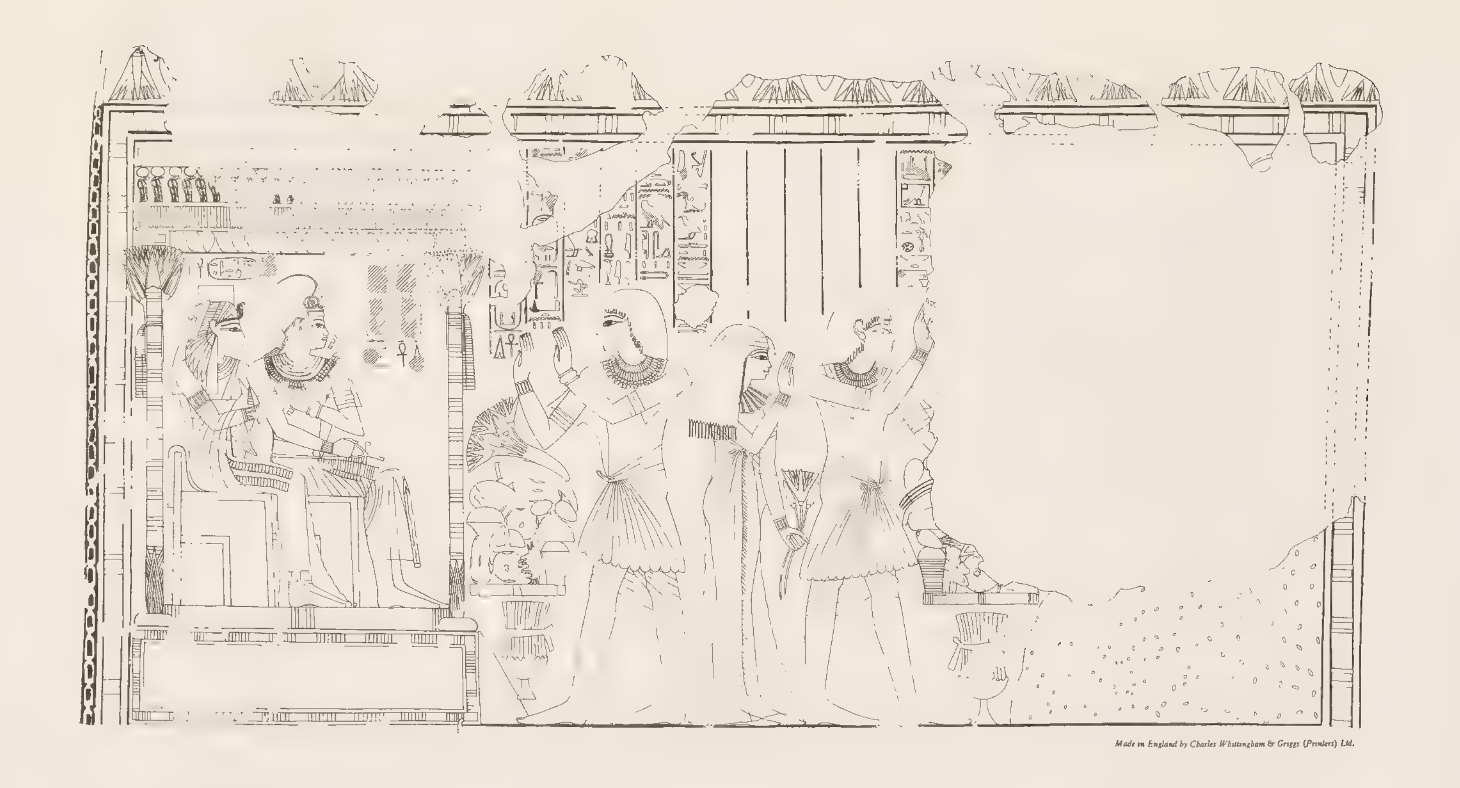


PLATE IX

SOUTH WALL, EAST SIDE. UPPER SCENE. SCALE 1:5

As the doorway lies on the right of the picture, this part shows the deceased pair worshiping the cow, Hathor (lost, but compare Plate XXXI). The other depicts them adoring the dead king Amenhotep I and his mother, Nofretari

(See pages 32, 33)



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PLATE X

AMENHOTEP I AND QUEEN NOFRETARI. DETAIL FROM PLATE IX

The deceased king and his mother had become deified protectors of the necropolis

Painted by H. R. Hopgood

(See page 33)

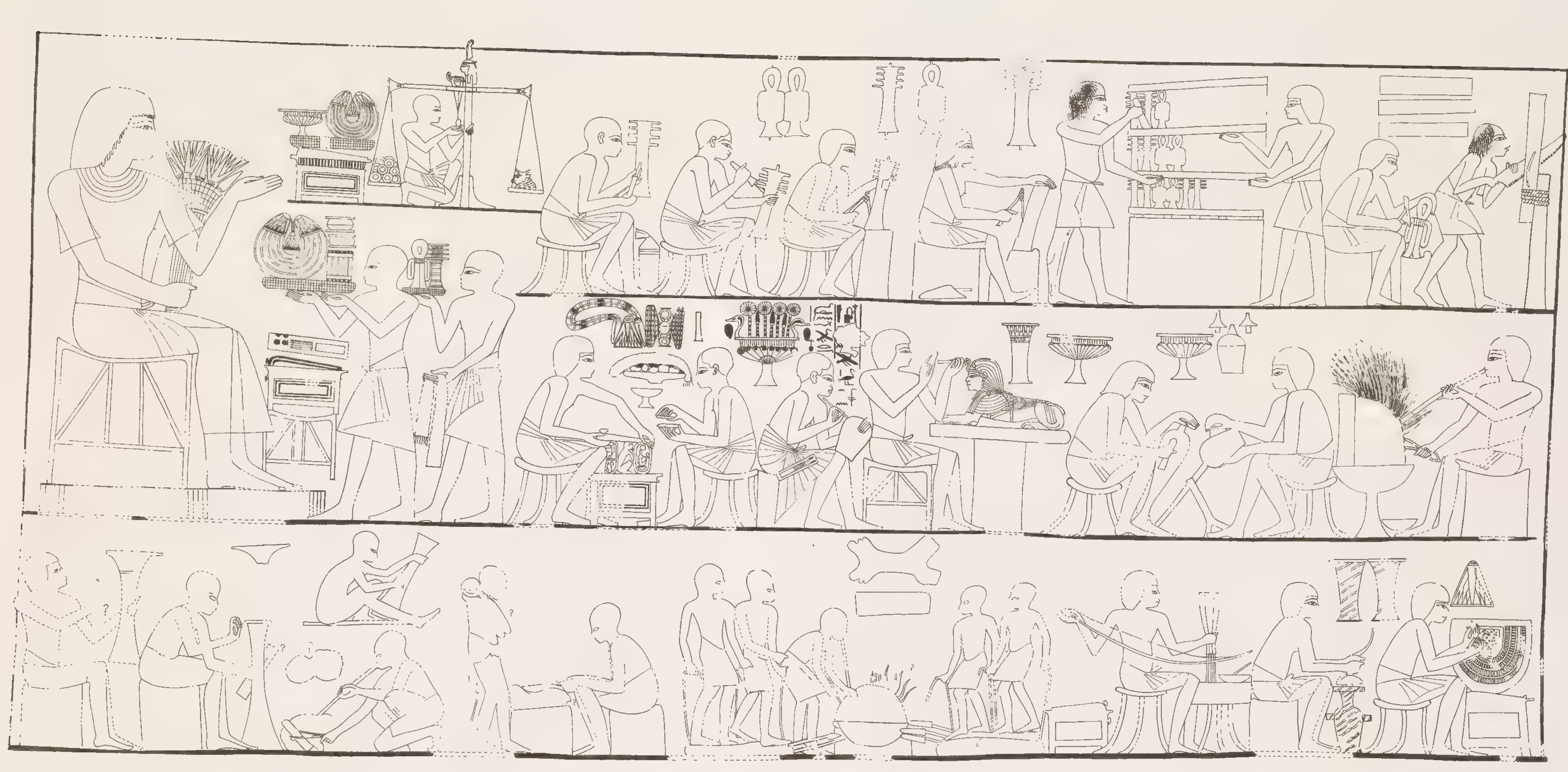


PLATE XI

SOUTH WALL, EAST SIDE. LOWER SCENE. SCALE 1:3

The deceased inspects the workshop under his charge

(See pages 57-63)



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PLATE XII

DETAILS FROM PLATE XI

A. Weighing out the gold. Workmen in wood, gold, and cloisonné work

B (continuation of above). Cabinet-makers and workers in hammered and chiseled metal

(See pages 58-62)





PLATE XIII

CARPENTERS, JEWELERS, AND GOLDSMITHS. DETAIL FROM PLATE XI

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

(See pages 58-62)



PLATE XIV

CARPENTERS AND METAL-WORKERS. DETAIL FROM PLATE XI

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

(See pages 59-62)



PLATE XV

EAST WALL, UPPER SCENE. SCALE 2:9

Nebamun worships Osiris and his train

(See pages 34, 35)

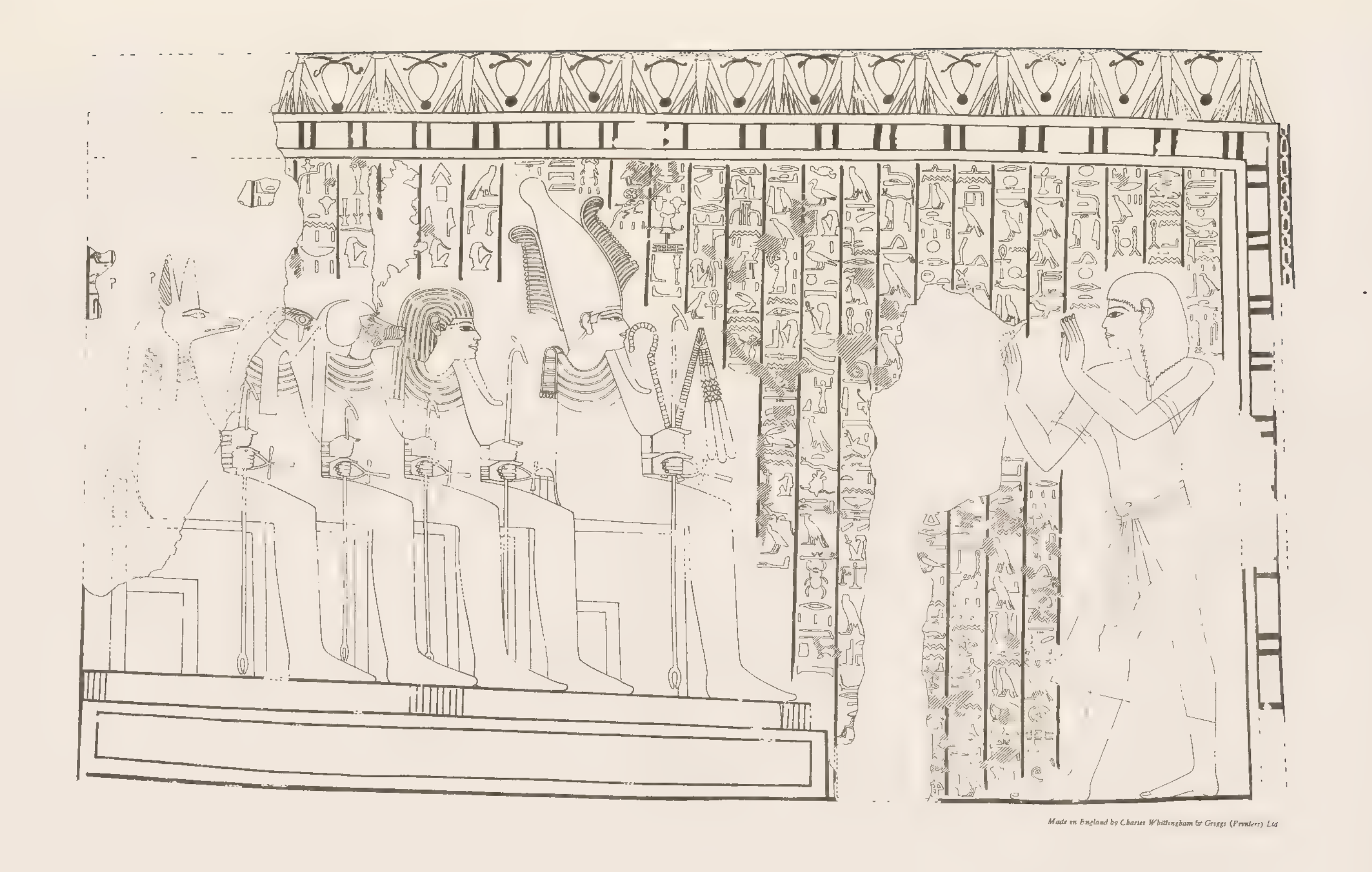


PLATE XVI

OSIRIS AND GODS OF BURIAL. DETAIL FROM PLATE XV

Painted by H. R. Hopgood

(See pages 34, 35)



PLATE XVII

EAST WALL, LOWER SCENE. SCALE 2:9

Apuki (right) and Nebamun (left) offer to their respective parents

(See pages 35, 36)



PLATE XVIII

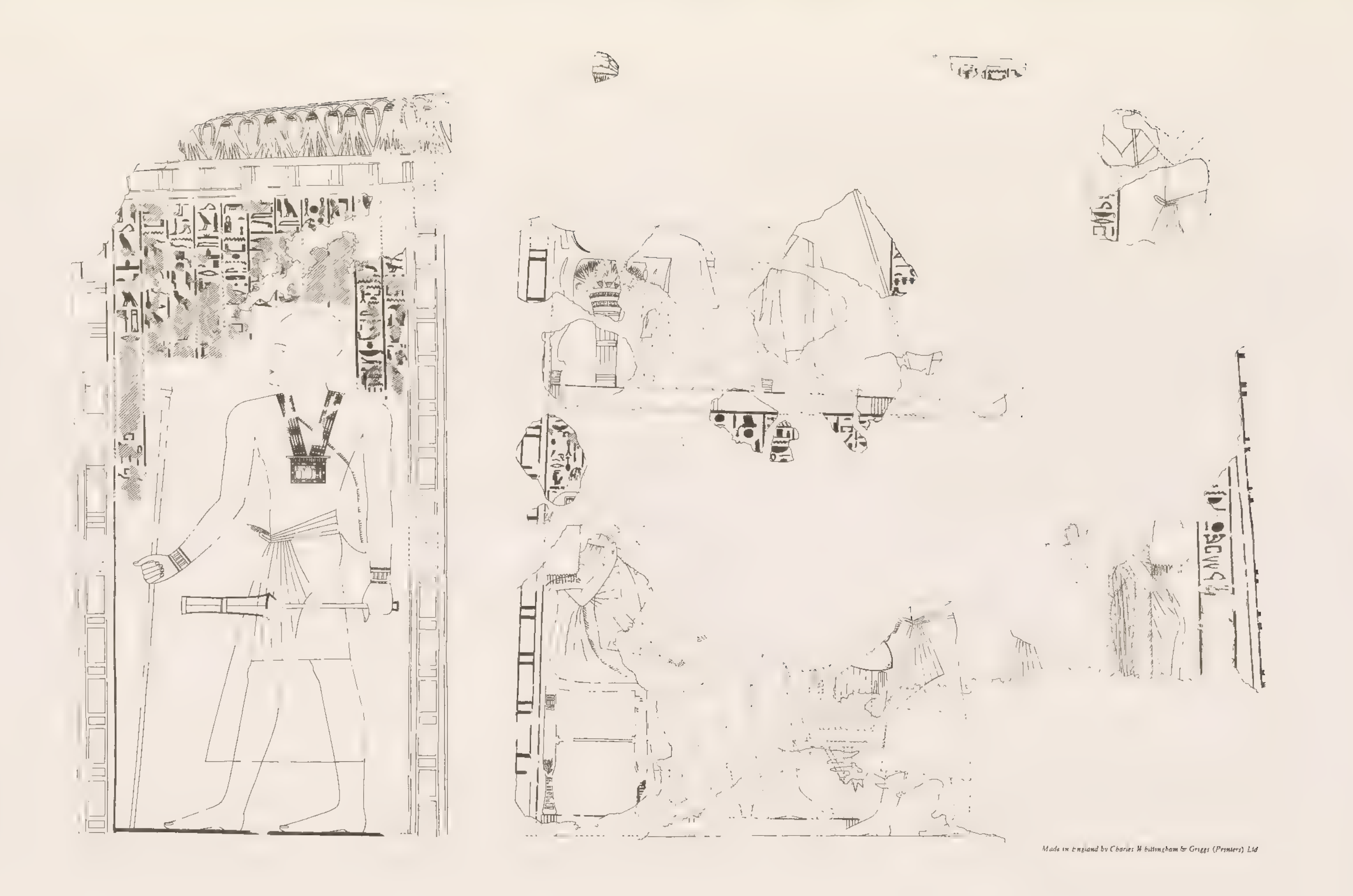
EAST REVEAL AND NORTH WALL, EAST SIDE. SCALE 1:6

1 (left). Apuki re-enters the tomb after visiting the temple

(See pages 27, 28)

2 (right). Survivors offering to the deceased. N. B. The tiny piece of inscription at the head of the plate is at the top of the wall and should be raised accordingly

(See pages 36, 37)



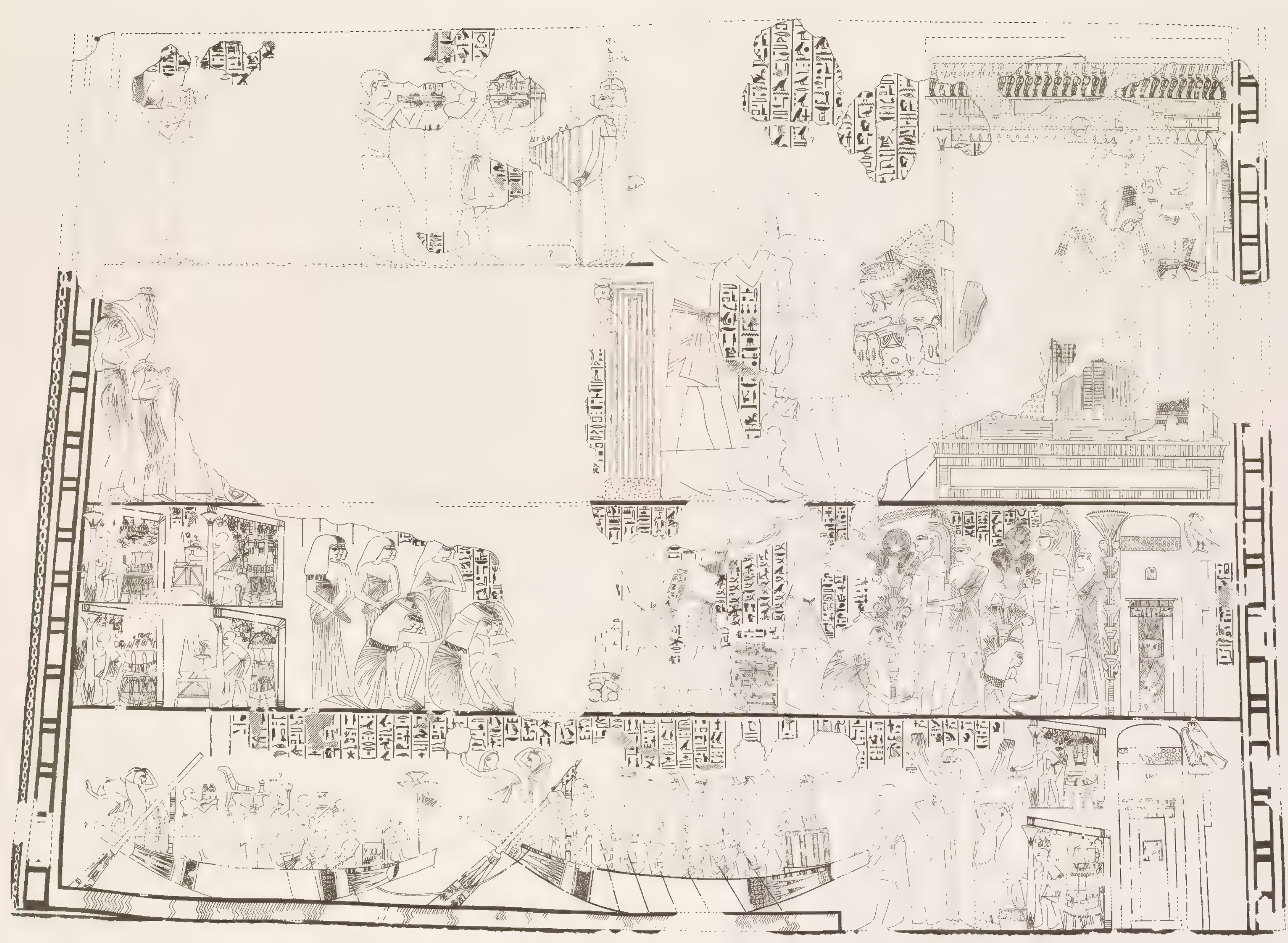
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PLATE XIX

NORTH WALL, WEST SIDE. SCALE 2:9

The funeral of the deceased and their appearance before Osiris and Isis

(See pages 37-41, 44-48)



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PLATE XX

DETAILS FROM PLATES XIX AND XXIV

A. Mourning relatives on the ferryboat
(See pages 50, 51)

B. Mourning for the deceased, and reception of the funeral convoy
(See pages 37, 38, 44-49)

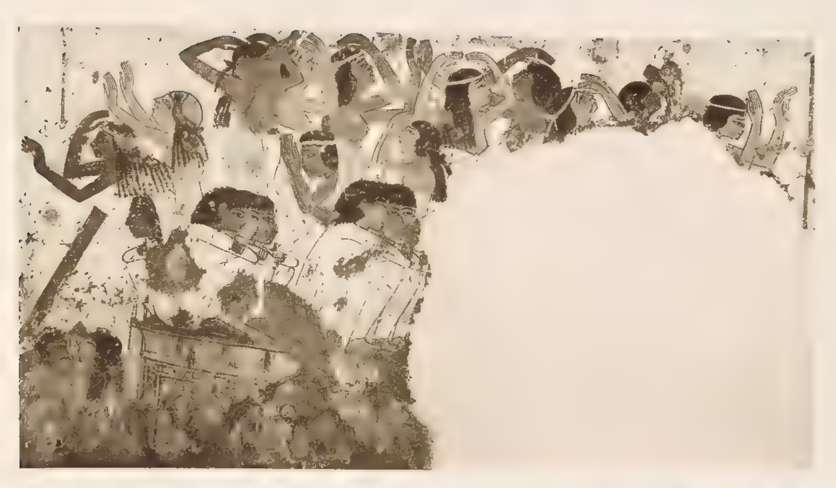




PLATE XXI

MOURNING AND PURIFYING THE DEAD. DETAIL FROM PLATE XIX

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

(See pages 44-46)



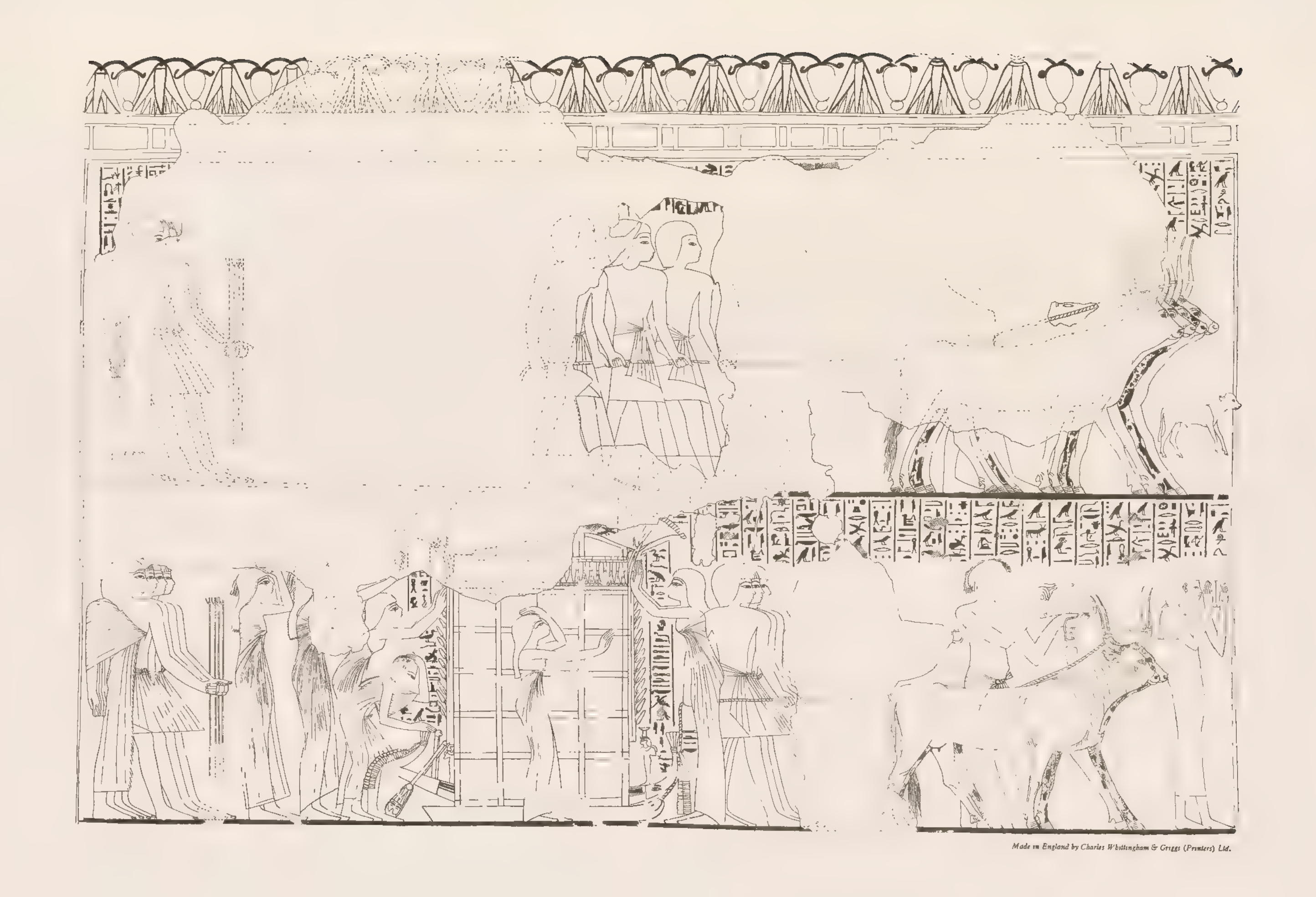
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PLATE XXII

WEST WALL, UPPER REGISTERS. DETAILS FROM PLATE XXV, A. SCALE 1:4

The funeral convoy (continuation of Plate XIX, upper half)

(See pages 42-44)



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PLATE XXIII

OFFICIANTS AND TEAM OF COWS. DETAIL FROM PLATES XXII AND XXV, A

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

(See pages 42, 43)

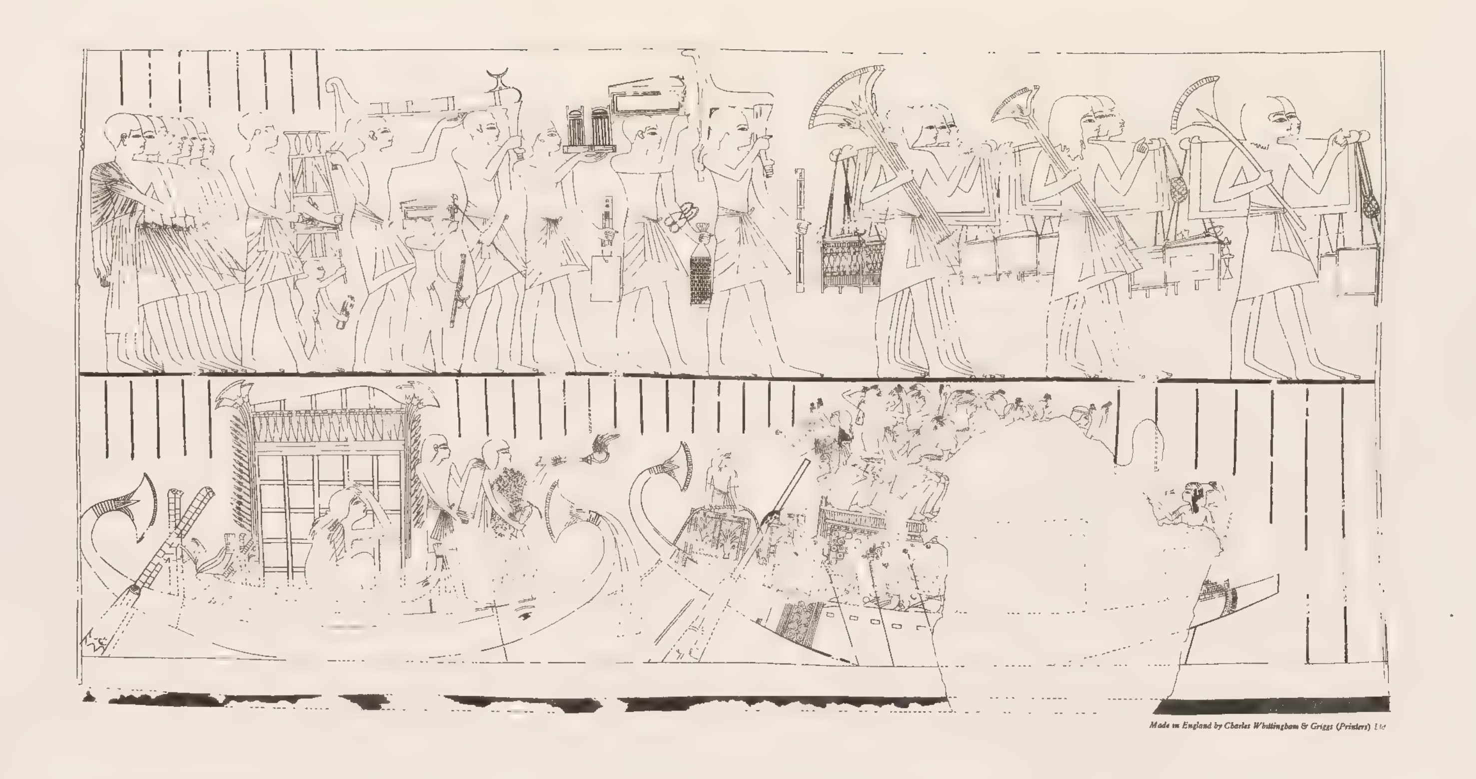


PLATE XXIV

WEST WALL, LOWER REGISTERS. DETAILS FROM PLATE XXV, A. SCALE 1:4

The funeral convoy (continuation of Plate XIX, lower half)

(See pages 48-51)



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PLATE XXV

WEST WALL

A (left). The whole wall. The funeral convoy

(See pages 42-44, 48-51)

B (right). Transport of the bier by land and water. Gifts of burial furniture. Details from Plates XXII and XXIV

(See pages 43, 44, 48, 49)





PLATE XXVI

BOATS CONVEYING MOURNERS AND THE BIER. DETAIL FROM PLATES XXIV AND XXV, A

Painted by H. R. Hopgood

(See pages 50, 51)



PLATE XXVII

INNER ROOM, EAST WALL. SCALE 2:9

Left half (below). Offering to the deceased pair

Right half (above). Musicians and guests

(See pages 64, 65)





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PLATE XXVIII

DETAILS FROM PLATE XXVII

A (left). The deceased pair

(See page 64)

B (right). Figures of a blind lute-player and a singer hastily sketched in red paint (replaced fragments)

(See pages 64, 65)

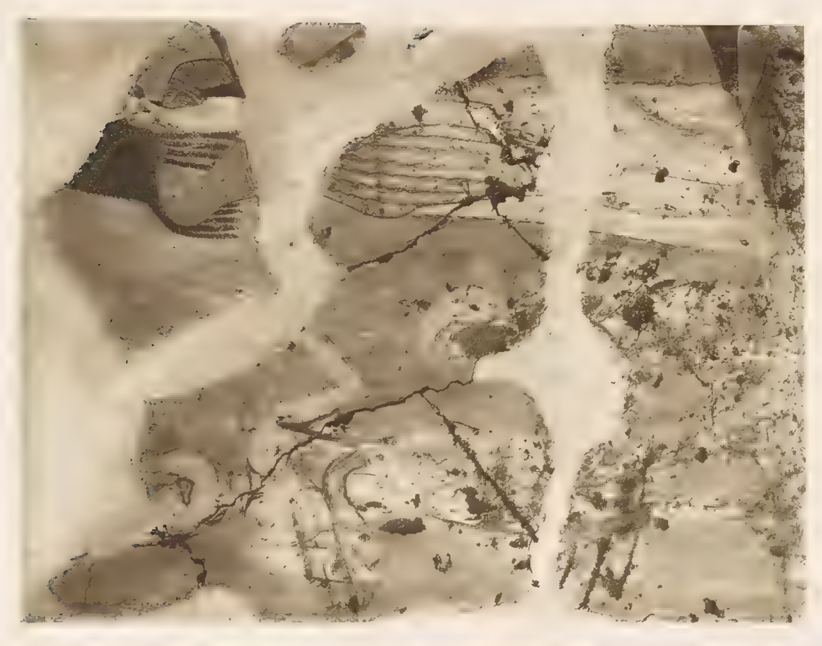




PLATE XXIX

THE MEAL OF THE DEAD. DETAIL FROM PLATE XXVII

Painted by C. K. Wilkinson

(See page 64)



PLATE XXX

CEILING PATTERNS. SCALE 1:3

The parts within black outlines or marked by an asterisk represent extant fragments

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

(See pages 21-23)


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H

PLATE XXXI

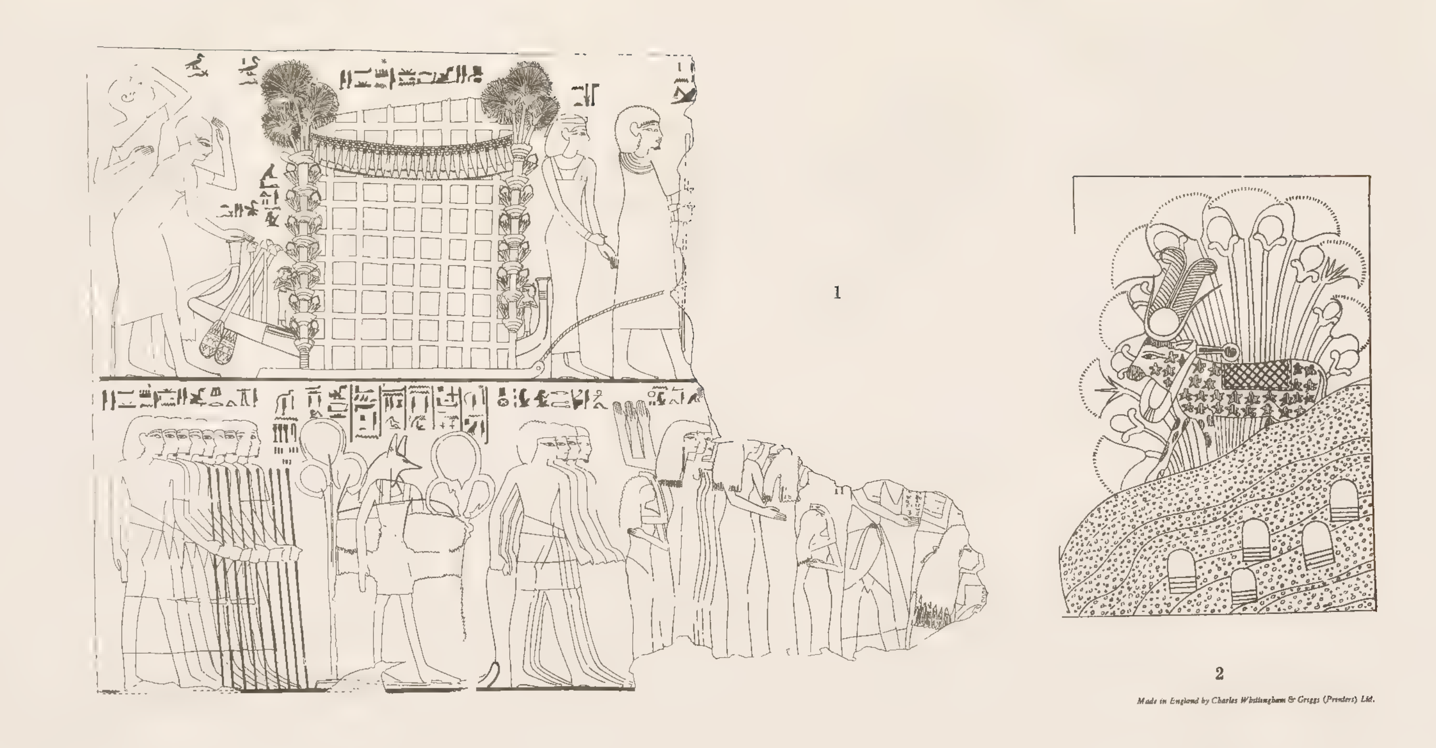
EXCERPTS FROM OTHER SOURCES FOR COMPARISON

1 (left). Funeral convoy from Tomb 54. Scale 1:4

(See pages 43, 44)

2 (right). Cow of Hathor, from a papyrus

(See page 32)



1

2

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